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*The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the
History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences and
Social Conditions of the present and former inhabitants
of the Island of Ceylon, and connected cultures*

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THURSTAN ROAD, COLOMBO 3

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A Sinhalese Hunting Poem

By Rt. Rev. Dr. EDMUND PEIRIS, O.M.I., B.A. (Lond.),
Bishop of Chilaw

(Presidential Address — 1960)

In the Hugh Nevill Collection of the British Museum, under number Or. 6611 (238), there is a manuscript of 23 palm leaves, containing 189 verses of a Sinhalese poem, entitled *Mala Rāja Ūru Dānaya*. In 1935, I copied this work carefully, as it dealt with a subject unfamiliar to our literature: namely, a wild boar-hunt. Nevill describes this manuscript under No. 266 of his catalogue raisonné, which our Museum authorities published in 1954. A few years ago, the late Dr. Andreas Nell gave me another palm-leaf manuscript of the same poem. It consists of 18 leaves, written over on both sides by an untrained and careless scribe, who did not scruple to repeat, at least, 5 verses in his script. It has altogether 216 verses, of which about 180 are represented in Nevill's copy. The story of this hunt forms the subject matter of three other manuscripts mentioned in Nevill's catalogue; namely, No. 34 and No. 599 (*Palāvāla Dāne* 1 and 2), and No. 600 (*Divi Raja Kavi*).

Describing the contents of *Palāvāla Dāne* I, Nevill says: 'This Saga also calls itself *Mala Rāda Upata*, while No. 599 also calls itself both *Sītāpati Puvata* and *Vali Yak Puvata*. No. 600, *Divi Raja Kavi*, has the same theme as these, but is not called *Palāvāla Dāne*. The present poem begins with the coronation of Kuvēni by Vijaya, as queen, and his perjured repudiation of her for the Pandyan princess. In consequence of this, the "divi dos" or the curse of perjury . . . attacked him and afterwards Paṇḍuvas, his successor. Sakra then saw that Mala Raja must be brought to exorcize the evil, with thrice twelve Vali Yakas, and 36 Vādi chiefs . . . By the stratagem of Rāhu, disguised as a boar, Mala Raja was led to Laṅkā, and effected the cure. A long account is given of the Himāla wilderness, its lakes and peaks. Upulvan Devi Rāja lived on one of these, Vayikunta, with Sītā Dēvi, his wife. Then follows the legend of Rama's conquest of Rāvana to recover Sītā. One day Sītā Dēvi painted the picture of Rāvana, and was detected regarding it by Ram Raja. He then took Sītā to the forest, and gave orders to Sumana Dēva to cut her in two. Sumana, however, took pity on her, as she was pregnant, and left her in the wilderness. She afterwards received shelter from a Rusi, who gave her a hut near his cell, where she fed on herbs. She brought forth a son, Sandalindu; one day the child fell under the bed, whilst the mother was away, and the Rusi in charge. Supposing it was lost and wishing to save her grief, the Rusi created a similar child from a flower (*mala*), and put it to sleep on the bed. Sītā found it and suckled it, but the other child awaking, she took both, thinking a god

had given her the other. The mother doubted the Rusi's tale when he explained what had happened, and to convince her, he took some *Ītana* (arrow grass), and created a third baby, who became known as Kitsiri Raja. The flower child was known as Mala Raja. The pedigree of Rama is given . . . One day Rama saw these princes, and annoyed at their paying him no respect, shot three arrows at them, which glanced away. Their birth was then discovered, and Sītā restored as queen. This is an ancient Saga, and embodies national Sinhalese legends. In its present form it is three centuries or so old'.

About *Mala Rāja Ūru Dānaya* itself, Nevill's catalogue says: "The first verse of this ballad states that its name is Mala Raja Ūru-dānaya, the boar hunt of Mala Raja . . . It commences with a notice of the illness of Paṇḍuvasraja of Laṅkā, from the sickness consequent on perjury, and called divi dos. He saw a leopard in his dreams, and sickened in consequence. His deva residing in the royal umbrella reported this to Saekra, who ordered Isuru or Mahesuru to fetch the Mala Raja to cure the king. Mahesuru deputed this to Rāhu, ordering him to lay waste the king's garden disguised as a wild boar, and when pursued to lead him to Santāna gala to cure the king. This hill is now called Hantāne gala, and is close to Kandy. Rāhu disguised as a boar succeeded in decoying the Mala king to Laṅkā . . . Then he absolved the divi dos from king Paṇḍuvasa. This is a deeply seated myth . . . Some such heroic boar hunt occurs as a myth amongst many nations. This poem is well composed and is probably three centuries old". (*Sinhala Verse*, I, No. 266).

In fact, an account of this hunt and the occasion for it is given in the *Rājāvaliya*. 'And now it came to pass', says the chronicle, 'that the perjury of which king Vijaya had been guilty was visited on the person of king Paṇḍuvasdev, who dreamt a dream and lay unconscious, unable to rise. Then the god *Purandarā*, to whom Laṅkā had been entrusted, foreseeing the evil consequences of the oath which were about to overtake Paṇḍuvasdev, who had come to illustrious Laṅkā, called the god *Īsvara* and directed him to contrive a plan to bring king Mala to Laṅkā. Thereupon Rāhu, instructed by *Īsvara*, transformed himself into a boar went to the garden of Malaraja, and began to devastate all before him. Let it be noted that the said Malaraja was a prince brought up by a queen who travelled in a *monarayatura* (peacock machine); that a masterful hermit caused him to be born of a lotus flower. This Malaraja, be it known, resided in a city built in the Uruvel district. When Malaraja heard that his garden was being laid waste he brought his subjects to surround the garden and beat about the jungle. The boar rushed to the perch where Malaraja was standing, avoided the arrow which the king had shot, leaped over the king and ran off. The king pursued the boar; but it entered the city of Malaraja, broke down his palace and ran on.

Then the king's three younger brothers, *Kitsiru*, *Sandasiru* and *Malasiru*, armed with sticks, went after the boar in hot pursuit, until they came to *Tūttukūḍiya*, where it plunged into the sea. As Malaraja and his three brothers, *Kitsiru*, *Sandasiru* and *Malasiru*, were endowed with supernatural powers, they likewise jumped into the sea and began to swim . . . The ferry at which the boar landed on this Lanka of Rāvaṇā after crossing the expanse of the sea was named *Ūratōta*. After Malaraja had pursued the boar throughout Laṅkā, Rāhu created a rock and went away. Malaraja struck at the rock and stood wondering what had happened. The god-king Sakra, seeing this, ordered him to go and avert the evil consequences of the oath, and restore king Paṇḍuvas to his senses. Malaraja, thereupon, assumed the form of a Brahmin, caused the propitiatory offerings to be made, removed the evil effects, restored the king to his senses and departed'. (*Rājāvaliya*, (English) pp. 21, 22: (Sinhalese) pp. 15, 16).

As the date of the *Rājāvaliya* has not yet been fixed, it is difficult to say whether this is the earliest record of the legend. But, it was certainly known in the time of Parakramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe, for, the *Kuvēni asna*, composed at this period, records it. 'During the Kōṭṭe period, historical themes, such as those of Vijaya, Kuvēni and Gajabāhu, formed the basis of popular ballads and religious cults. These works such as the *Sihabā-asna*, the *Kuvēni-asna*, the *Gajabā-kathā* and the *Kohombā-yakkama*, are really more of sociological and religious interest than purely historical. Most of these are ballads centering round the worship of the goddess Pattini, and are interesting for that reason'. (*History of Ceylon*, I, i, p. 61). The *Kuvēni-asna* is 'a chant in blank verse probably intended to be recited by *Kapurālas* or lay-priests in Bali ceremonies for the purpose of removing *divi-dos*, 'divine evil', or any form of disease believed to result specially from the neglect of one's own vows, or from the imprecations of others'. (*Catalogue*, No. 33). The story of Vijaya's repudiation of Kuvēni, its consequences on Paṇḍuvasdev and the expulsion of *divi-dos* by Malaraja appears, with additions, in the *Kohombā-yakkama*, the most elaborate of occult performances known among the Sinhalese. (cf. *Sinhalese Literature*, pp. 290-293). It is also called the *Kohombā-kamkāriya*, and the deity or demon whom it is intended to propitiate is the Kohombā Deviyo. 'It is generally believed' says Hugh Nevill, 'among the Western Sinhalese that a race of malicious spirits, called Kohomba Yakas, live in certain high mountains of Ceylon, whence they sally forth and rob the rice fields. No tradition is preserved as to why this race have the name Kohomba, neither can I trace any account of their appearance. The kohomba tree is the well known *margosa*, called in Tamil *vembu* . . . The Tamils believe this tree to be specially haunted by a spirit or devils . . . Mountains in Taman Kaduwa, and above Sabaragama, have repeatedly been described to me as the resorts of these marauders'. (*Taprobanean*, February 1886, pp. 93, 94). Ceremonies to propitiate the Kohomba Yaka are performed in connection with paddy cultivation. (cf. *Sinhalese Folk Play*, pp. 47,

In Ceylon, kings hunted before the introduction of Buddhism (rf. *Mahāvamsa*, V, 154; X, 2; XIV, 1), and even after that (rf. *Cūlavamsa*, XX, 32ff; LXXII, 263). It seems to have been quite a normal exercise of kings. Speaking of Parākramabāhu the Great (1153-1186), the *Cūlavamsa* says, 'when he had thus made peaceful the province of the Malaya where owing to its inhabitants there has been no peace, he dwelt at ease in his town and passed the time with games in the garden and in the water, with dance and song and the like, fulfilling the duties of a king, and for the sake of the exertions for the subjugation of hostile kings and for defeat of rebels, the ruler was wont to follow the chase' (LXX, 31, 32). Then follows a graphic account of the king's prowess as a huntsman.

Legends about wild-boar hunts are frequently found in the heroic age of many countries. The fourth labour imposed on Heracles was to capture alive the Erymanthian boar (rf. *Greek Myths*, II, 126). Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, so full of tales of the age of the gods, gives us a vivid picture of the hunting of the Calydonian wild boar by Meleager and his men. (rf. Bk. VIII, pp. 202-206). Aeneas, in his hunting expedition with Dido longs to meet a 'foaming wild boar', but the whole affair ends in a love tryst (Virgil's *Aeneid*, IV, 129-172). In the mythology of the West, the boar was considered sacred to the Moon because of its crescent-shaped tusks. In the story of Ummādacittā, the spirits of Citta, the herdsman, and Kālavela, the slave, 'caused a great boar to appear at the moment', when there was danger to her son (rf. *Mahāvamsa*, IX, 22; X, 2-5). The dark, massive figure of the wild boar, with its abysmal grunt, must have been taken for an incarnation of the devil himself by the ancients; and mystery grew around the animal.

The poem, *Mala Rāja Ūru Dānaya*, opens by announcing its title, without any invocations or ascriptions. Here is the first verse:

ඉසුරුගෙ විදන	ය	I sing of Malaraja's wild-boar hunt,
ගෙන පළකළ නිදන	ය	The hunt where mighty deeds were
පෑ විකුමෙ දන	ය	done,
කියමි මල රජ උරු දන	ය	In the cause of the disease, famed
	ය	far,
		As ordained by the god Isvara.

The next 16 verses tell us what it is all about. King Paṇḍuvas, when reigning in Upatissapura, saw a leopard in a dream. He woke up in a fright and sickened. Then, the *genie*, that dwelt in the royal parasol whispered to him that, although King Vijaya had been spared the ailment by god, he could not be cured except by Malaraja. Thereupon, the god Sakra commissioned Isvara to see to it that Malaraja was brought to Lamkā to cure Paṇḍuvas. Isvara, in turn, passed on the order to Rāhu, who assumed the guise of a wild boar, determined to decoy Malaraja to Santāna rock. It was no ordinary boar. The poet says:

Its dental sheath was like the shells on water's edge,
Its shining tusks, like the dipping crescent moon.
The hairs of its body, like the rough *iluk* grass,
Its head, the summit, its shoulders the mountain peaks. (vs. 46).²

This monster stalks into Malaraja's royal garden and begins its career of destruction. With its hoofs it tramples down the fruit trees and flowering plants, with its huge tusks it uproots the giants of the park, and upturns the soil to mounds of sand, and, with its hot breath, dries up the ponds and the lakes. By skillfully arranging his words, just the names of trees and shrubs, the poet evokes for us a picture of the confusion, e.g.

ක ර බ ර	සියඹර මහමොර දෙබ	රා
බුලුමොර	සුළුමොර සමදර සබ	රා
ක ලු හ ර	ගිනිහිරි දළහින් අඹ	රා
ප ර ප ර	යේ බිඳ දෙකොණින් වතු	රා

(VS. 23)

රඹසිරඹ	ඇට රඹ කටු කර	ඹා
අඹ දෙඹ	නිල්ලඹ ලඹ රඹ පන	ඹා
අඹ ද ඹ	පළොලඹ සැලඹ කොස	ඹා
ඉඹ ඉඹ	කොල දී වන ගල කම්	බා

(VS. 24).

While the keeper of the park looks on in utter consternation, the animal turns on him in full fury.

It took a deep breath and pricked up its ears,
Then cast a steady look with eyes goggling wide;
The ears flapped and the hairs stood on end,
With a grunt it charged, spreading dismay around.³ (vs. 36).

The gardener reports the matter to the king, giving him a detailed description of the damage wrought, and, incidentally providing us with a fair list of plants and shrubs found in a Ceylon garden. In fact, verses 23 to 94 are good stuff for a botanist. The king arrives at the scene, and, for some time, stands aghast at the devastation all around him: the royal park which was once the pride of the city, is now a dump of broken

2.	බොළු වන් දන් කොප් ඇතිවෙන විල් කෙ	ර
	ගි ඵ වන් අඹසඳ දෙ දළෙහි පැහැ ස	ර
	ර ඵ වන් ඉලුබක් වැනි ඇඟ කේ ස	ර
	ඹ ලු වන් ගිරි හිස් කඳු වැනි ඉස් ක	ර (VS. 46).
3.	උ ර වා සුලභන් කන් පොතු උ	රවා
	නෙරවා ඇස්ගෙඩි බලමින් න	රවා
	ඹ ර වා කන් ගසමින් කෙස් බු	රවා
	ගොරවා පන්නා යෙයි බිය ක	රවා (VS. 36).

branches, fallen tree trunks and sand-heaps and rubble. Anger and grief begin to rage in his soul, like 'salt on a fire' (vs. 97), and, brandishing his sword, he swears he will cut the beast in twain, as he had done to many an enemy in the past. (vs. 96, 97). But, he is made to realise that he has to do with no ordinary animal. Although it had wallowed in the park, it left no footprints (vs. 31); and, the devastation it spread was, in the opinion of the royal gardener, a man of seven years' experience of the job (vs. 40), as if the *Mahamera* had collapsed on earth and the mighty storm, which heralds the end of the world, had swept over the park. (vs. 29). It was a boar from the skies (vs. 114).

But, Malaraja is determined to destroy the mysterious beast. He orders that drums be beaten throughout the city for a general call to arms (vs. 124). The warriors assemble ready to do their monarch's bidding (vs. 125). The scene is described in verses 125 to 136, written in a metre, which though familiar to our folk poetry, suggests a gay troop on the march.

දිරි පෙත් වූ සෙබළු විපත් ලෙලවා දිගු පු ඵලු
ඵක තැන් වූ ලෙස මරසෙන් වෙසෙසින් රුහුන රඵ
සොබමන් වූ දිග්ගන හැර කිතු මුතුහර වැ ඵලු
කිමගෙන් වූ කාරණ දැන් ඇද්දු ඩි හිමි නෙ පලු

(VS. 126).

The boastful warriors waving weapons, broad and long,
Assemble, an army, dealing death to savage foes around;
A pearl necklace they seem in the great comely court;
To them the monarch reveals his royal designs.

They receive his words with shouts of enthusiasm and bragging a-plenty. 'I will break its bones to powder' says one; 'I will tear it by its jaws' says a second; 'I will finish it with one stab of my javelin, and drag it to your feet, my King' shouts a third. (vss. 131, 133, 136). Then, the hunters get their dogs and their nets ready, fasten round their waist bags of stones, and with bows, arrows and swords proceed to the chase. (vss. 137-139). Nets are thrown round the park and the hunters beat the jungle. Malaraja, in the meantime, picks out a poisoned arrow, twirls it on his fingers and places it in position on the bow-string, ready for action. (vs. 141). The pack of hunting dogs rush into the thickets, tearing down everything before them, while the hunters drive them to fury with shouts of 'usi, usi'. (vs. 142, 143). A black mass now emerges from the foliage and stares at the dogs and the hunters. Immediately, the scramble begins for places of safety. The men hang on to the branches of trees, exclaiming in mortal fear, '*Buddhō Bagavā!* What is this apparition?' (vs. 145, 146). The poet remarks: 'The foul saliva of the mouths that had boasted, now dried up. The knees shuddered, while the lips were covered with an ashy sediment (*alu pipenavā*). Those who said 'there are no hunters like myself' have now just one wish, to get back to his father and to his religion'. (vss. 147, 148.)

After scattering the hunters and their dogs, the boar made for the perch where the king stood. Malaraja, placing a poisoned arrow on his bowstring, pulled it taut and sent the missile thundering through the air, right on to the animal's body. But it produced no effect; the boar, with one bounce passed over the king's head, and rushed into the city. (vs. 152-155). In a short time, the royal city was a shambles: palaces, with their bejewelled towers and minarets, crumpled before the animal's fury, while the populace stood in the desolate streets dumb-founded (vss. 156-159).

The king, however, was determined to pin his quarry to the ground; he chased after it, and, when it made for the sea, he left his retinue behind and continued the pursuit with his royal brothers, Kitsiri and Sandalindu (vss. 161, 162, 164). They passed through many places in India; for instance, Doluvara, Babbara, Gujjara, Telinga, Vanguraṭa, Kalinga, Kannāḍa, Jāvaka Tamalingomuva, Pūraḍi, Kavisi, Bankāla, Konkana, Kancia, Vancia, Orumūsi, Vanga, Kōsala, Sāgala, Kāveri, Madura and even Visālā (vss. 165-169). The *Rājāvaliya* speaks of Dōluvara raṭa and Sabara raṭa (rf. p. 3, Sgh. Edit.). Gujjara is probably Gujerat; Telinga or Telingana is east of the Deccan, Vanguraṭa and Vanga, I think, stand for Bengal; Kalinga is Orissa, and Kannāḍi, Karnāṭha or Canara. Jāvaka Tamalingomuva, in spite of its Sinhalese ending, is Tamalinga in Malaya. Pūraḍi cannot be identified, but Kavisi is the land of the Kāpiri (Kaffirs). The *Kustantīnu Haṭana* mentions soldiers in Ceylon from Telinga, Kannāḍi, Urumusi and Kavisi (vs. 96). The *Dambadeṇi Asna* too speaks of troops from Kālinga, Karnāṭa, Doluvara, Urumusi, Kavisi, Barbara, Gurjara and Telinga (pp. 4, 5). The same work has Mangaliya and Bangala, besides Vanga. It is possible that Mangaliya and Bangala (Bankāla) are Mangalore and Bangalore. Konkana represents the South Western districts of India. Kanci and Kāveri are Conjeevaram and Kāveripattanam on the South East coast of India, and Vancia or Vanci on the West coast of Cēra. Orumusi or Urumusi stands for Ormuz. Kōsala corresponds to Oudh and Sāgala to Sialkot in Lahore. The fame of Sāgala is celebrated in the *Kavsiḷumina* (vss. 12-21). Visālā or Vesālī, near Patna, was a famous city in the past. (rf. *Buddhist India*, pp. 17, 25; *Mahāvamsa*, IV, 9). It would appear that our poet was not quite acquainted with the geography of India, but paraded the names of famous places by rote. When he comes to Ceylon soil his topographical knowledge is far better.⁴

4. In identifying the place names, I have been guided generally by Mr. C. W. Nicholas' *Historical Topography of Ancient and Mediaeval Ceylon*, published by the Society as Volume VI, New Series.

From India, the boar swam across the Palk Strait, followed by the three royal hunters, and landed at Ūrātoṭa in 'Yāpā Paṭuna', or Uratturai in Kayts. Then it plunged into the Mipā forest (cp. Mipātoṭa in Mannar district, p. 81). After wallowing in the mud of Tōpavāva, at Polonnaruwa, (p. 184), it moved towards Sāgiri near Mihintalē (p. 162) and Sīgiriya, Riṭigala, Dimbulāgala (modern Gunner's Quoin) in Tamankaḍuva (p. 40), Suruvāmuni (cp. Suramānivāpi, p. 192), Nītu-vāva (cp. Nītopatpāna tank, near Trincomalee, p. 45), Tammitā (cp. Tambaviṭi, east of Anurādhapura, p. 44), Kavḍālu (cp. Kavudā-vulu in Kaḍḍukkulam Pattu, p. 45) and Padipālalla (cp. Padivāpi or Padaviya tank, pp. 87, 168). Here twelve hunters (*vāḍḍa*) joined Malaraja (vs. 172). The other places in the itinerary are Ballāhela, Kuḍamarugala, Laggala, Loggala, Kotalāgala, Yānēmurugala, Atulayagala, Ipāna, Batalayagala, Gavaragiriya, and Sāpāna. Some of them can more or less, be identified. Laggala and Loggala are mentioned in the *Rājāvaliya* (pp. 13, 14) in connection with the Vijaya-Kuvēni incident; the first to the North of Badulla, the second to the South of it. (p. 47; *History of Ceylon*, pp. 444, 466). There was an Atulā Vihāra in Anurādhapura (p. 151); Ipāna is for Isipatana (p. 180); Gavaravāla and Sepaṇṇipupha or Sāpāna occur in ancient writings (pp. 171, 151).

At Sāpāna, the royal hunters took counsel when they should attack their victim (vs. 174). But, it dashed towards Devanagala, Mayāduṇṇē, Ambuluvākaḍa and Bōtalē (pp. 117, 164). Thence it swam across the Mahaviliganga to Pāingomuva and took refuge in Santāna Aḍaviya, 'for the welfare of Laṅkā' says the poet, 'and King Paṇḍuvas' (vs. 176). Kitsiri, Sandalindu and Malaraja collected 'thrice twelve hunters (*vāḍi*) of this country' (vs. 177) and looked for the boar among the hills and rocks, until they came across a beautiful garden, like Sakra's *Nadun Uyana*. Here in the forest of Santāna,⁵ they saw a monstrous object, as dark as a rain cloud, which they made out to be the mysterious wild boar. Malaraja, in great joy, drew out an arrow (*karal hīya*) and shot at it. The animal did not stir, but became petrified, then and there (vss. 180-186)⁶. 'Thus, indeed', says our poet, 'was Malaraja brought to cure Laṅkā's king, Paṇḍuvas, of the *divi dos* (vs. 187).

5. Forest of Santāna: D'Oyly speaks of "Hantana Keyle (forest)", frequented by people seeking for firewood (D'Oyly's Diary, p. 166).
6. The occurrence of place names like Ūrāvala Ūrādeniya, Ūrāpola, in the vicinity of Hantana rock is very significant.

The devout author concludes his work with these two wishes:

පන පිරිපන නි	නි	This dire disease if expelled
දුරුදුවොත් යහප	නි	For e'er, a boon it'll be;
තුඹ තුඹය සිත	නි	The wish by every lip expressed,
පෙපස්වා දහස් කල් පව	නි	Five thousand years, you'll live to see (vs. 188).
මුණි රජුගෙ මන ක	උ	Keep ye the teaching so soothing
රකින දහම් පොත් ඉ	උ	to mind
මෙලක රජු පිළිවෙ	උ	Treasured in the books of the
පවත් වත් අප නිරිඳු කර ලො	උ	saintly Sage;
	උ	Follow the laws of Laṅkā's kings,
		So please the ruler, our earthly lord (vs. 189).

The *Mala Rāja Ūru Dānaya* is just folk poetry, without any pretensions to the diction, style and embellishments of our classical poetry. Even the grammar and spelling are very often faulty, though some of them must be ascribed to the careless copyists. But, it has this in its favour: it is a poem on a theme very rare in our literature, and it records a legend intimately connected with a folk ritual, which is, probably, pre-Aryan in Ceylon but taken over and preserved by the first Aryan settlers and their descendants. (rf. Sēdaraman, pp. 7 ff).

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Note:

From a folk poem, it would appear that Kosombā or Kohomba was the name given to a three-fold deity, of whom one was Malaraja, born of a *mānel* flower, his brother was made of an *itana* grass blade. Kitsiri and Sanda too are mentioned, as brothers of Malaraja. Their association with Santāna rock is noted. The poem winds up by stating the three places where Kosomba deviyo is worshipped. Extracts from the poem are given below, from the printed version in *Purāṇa Sivupada Saṃgrahava* by Rev. H. U. Praganālōka; Government Press, Colombo, 1952.

“කොහොඹ දෙවි තුන්කම්බුවේ වික්කිය”

යස ඉසුරු සුර	බා	රුසිරු කල නිමල	යි
සිරිලකෙහි උන් ගජ	බා	එබ්බෝ සඳ රුබර	යි
මල රජුගේ සු	බා	ගති ගුණන් නිමල	යි
පුවත කියනෙමි නමින් කොස	බා	පියස සිටි ගම නම් වැලිහෙල	යි

නිමල් කල යුතු	වා	රජු සමග මේ	ලෙද
මහතුන්ගේ සේක	වා	උන් සඳ අනගි සැප	විද
උතුන් ගුණ යුතු	වා	මෙම තුන් බිසෝ	සඳ
පැති සිරිලක ඉන්ට වේ	වා	නිද සිටියෙදි දිවි පුන්	සඳ

එමච් පිය සුද්	දි	සින දක ඉක්බි	ති
වන මෙන් ලොවේ සුද්	දි	තුන් මස පිරි දෙළ ග	ති
නිමල කල ලද්	දි	බත බුලත රිසි නැ	ති
නමින් වී ලෝකාය බුද්	දි	මුවෙන් හුස්මත් හෙලනු රිසි නැ	ති

A SINHALESE HUNTING POEM

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පිළිසිද සිටි බ	ඩේ	සන්මස බන් ක	වා
පිරි දස මසය එක	ඩේ	කොසොඹ යයි නම් තබ	වා
කුමරෙක් යස හැ	ඩේ	අබරණ පළඳ	වා
උපති මේ සිරිලකෙහි නිහ	ඩේ	දෙගුරු කුමරුන් මෙලෙස සැද	වා
පෙනෙන්නේ බා	ද	සන් හැවිරිදි වී	යේ
ඇසල මස නැගි පොහො	ද	මහ වනයකට වැඩි	යේ
රෙහෙණය ලත් එ	ද	වැඩ සිට අඩවි	යේ
උපති අවයම සිකුරා	ද	මෙසේ කොහොඹා දෙවිදු වූ	යේ
යහපත් ගුරුන්	දැ	මහනෙල් මලක් ගෙ	න
බොහෝ සිරිසැපන් දෙන්	දැ	කුමරෙක් මවා ගනිමි	න
නපුරුයි කියන්	දැ	රිතන කෙත්තකි	න
වසයි හිමයේ නමුත් මුන්	දැ	තවත් කුමරෙක් මවා ගනිමි	න

මෙසේ මේ තුන්
කොහොඹ දෙවියෝ වීල
පෙනී සිට සැම
සලසවත් සෙන් දනව සැම
දෙන
සින
නැන
දින (pp. 63, 64).

විද නොවෙද පොළවට	අදපත්තු	හත්තානා ගල නියම	උනාදෝ
නෙලානදලු මුර මිටි	බැඳගත්තු	උන්තානේ අහකට	වැඩියාදෝ
හත්තාන ගල වැඩ	සිටගත්තු	දුන් කාලේ තේජස්	නැකුවාදෝ
වැලිහෙල කොසොඹා දෙව්	අදිපත්තු	වැලිහෙල කොසොඹා දෙව්	වැඩියාදෝ

තුන් රැසක් අල්ල ගනිති කෙළිකෙළ
නොකරන් අවමන් දනිනොත් තෙදබල
කොසොඹ වනේ පිපුනයි මානෙල්මල
කොසොඹා දෙවිදුගෙ බල බල හෙලි
ගල
අළුත් කොසොඹ දෙව් මෙරගල් පායේ
පරණ කොසොඹ දෙව් දෙරගල් පායේ
මහ කොසොඹා සියඹල ගල් පායේ
වැඩ වසනා බව දනු සිත් පිරියේ
(p. 65).

The Arya Kingdom in North Ceylon

By S. PARANAVITANA

Among the outstanding political events in Ceylon during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were the relations which certain rulers of Gaṃpaḷa and Kōṭṭe had with the Ārya-cakravartis who exercised power in the North of the Island. The first mention of an Ārya-cakravarti in a Sinhalese historical work is found in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, written in the last decade of the fourteenth century. Referring to the achievements of the great minister Aḷagakkōṇāra (Alakeśvara), this authority states that he vanquished the Ārya-cakravarti, who invaded the territories of the Gaṃpaḷa king with a formidable military array by land as well as by sea.¹ The *Nikāya-saṅgraha* does not give the date of this memorable campaign, but it is clear from the trend of its narrative that it took place before the purge of the Saṅgha, effected by Aḷagakkōṇāra in 1912 B.E., i.e. 1369 A.C., the twelfth year of Vikramabāhu III.²

The *Nikāya-saṅgraha* does not give the name of the capital of the Ārya-cakravarti or of the territory over which he ruled. This information is furnished by the *Sāḷalihinī-sandēsa*, *Girā-sandēsa* and *Kōkila-sandēsa*, Sinhalese poems composed between 1450 and 1465 A.C., which contain eulogistic accounts of a contemporary event, namely the unification of the whole Island in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI as a consequence of the victorious campaign of Prince Sapumal, the adopted son of that king, against the Ārya-cakravarti of that day.³ These contemporary accounts inform us that the Ārya-cakravartis were rulers of Yāpāpaṭuna, the modern Jaffna. It is in these poems that the name 'Yāpāpaṭuna' is first met with in the writings of Ceylon; the name was applied not only to the seat of the Ārya-cakravarti, but also to the district dependent on it.⁴ As the name indicates, the place was a seaport. The earliest mention of an Ārya-cakravarti as a ruler over a part of Ceylon, however, has been made by a foreign writer, namely Ibn Batūta, who visited Ceylon in 1344.⁵

The Sinhalese historical tradition, as embodied in the various versions of the *Rājāvalī*, frankly admits that for some time the Ārya-cakravarti of Jaffna exercised some sort of control over the territories of the Gaṃpaḷa king. The printed version of this Sinhalese chronicle, resuming the history of the Island after a hiatus of nearly a century from the reign of Vijayabāhu IV, states that there were at that time three seats of political authority in the Island, namely Rayigama where dwelt Alakeśvara, Gaṃpaḷa, the capital of the nephew of Parākramabāhu, i.e. Vikramabāhu III, and Yāpāpaṭuna ruled by the Ārya-cakravarti. Of these three rulers, the *Rājāvalī* states, the Ārya-cakravarti excelled the other two in military strength as well as in economic resources. He therefore received dues from the nine seaports as well as from other sources in the up-country and in the low-country.⁶ I have elsewhere dwelt in some detail on the probable course of events, as deducible from the contemporary sources for the history of the Island, which led to the Ārya-cakravarti establishing some sort of control over the Gaṃpaḷa kingdom, how this power of the northern ruler was checked by Alakeśvara, and how Prince Sapumal forced the Ārya-cakravarti of his time to exile.⁷

How and when this kingdom of the Ārya-cakravartis was founded, who were its rulers, what was the order of their succession and the course of events, are matters shrouded in a veil of darkness even thicker than that which obscures the history of Sinhalese rulers during the Gaṃpaḷa period. The Sinhalese writings ignore these questions. No reliable historical account of the rise of this Northern Kingdom, written while the Ārya-cakravartis were in power, or shortly after the fall of their kingdom, has come down to us. The only contemporary evidence about the Ārya-cakravartis, emanating from their court, available today, consists of a few verses eulogising some rulers of the dynasty under whose patronage certain Tamil works were composed, and possibly a stray verse or two which have found their way to an anthology of Tamil verse compiled in recent times. These works,⁸ the subject of which is not history, bear no dates and, apart from referring to the family and the city of the patrons of their authors, they contain only conventional praise and obscure allusions to the achievements of some of the kings — material utterly inadequate to form the basis of a coherent account.

With the possible exception of a pond at Nallūr near Jaffna, known as Jamnēri, there is no architectural monument, anywhere in Ceylon, which owes its existence to an Ārya-cakravarti. No epigraph of a ruler

1. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, translated into English by C.M. Fernando, Ceylon Government Printer, 1908, (Ns. Tr.), p. 27. *The University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon*, Vol. I (UCHC/I), pp. 645-6.

2. H.W. Codrington in *The Journal of the Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* (JCBRAS), Vol. XXXII (No. 86), p. 275.

3. *Sāḷalihinī-sandēsa*, edited by Sri Dharmarama Nayaka-sthavira, Colombo, 1925, v. 29; *Girā-sandēsa*, edited by T. Sugatapala, Alutgama, 1924, vv. 138-140; *Kōkila-sandēsa*, edited by P.S. Perera, Colombo, 1906, vv. 8, 263-264 and 284.

4. *Kōkila-sandēsa*, op. cit., v. 284.

5. *The Rehla of Ibn Batuta*, Translation and Commentary by Mahdi Hussain, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXII, Baroda, 1953 (*Ibn B.*), pp. 217 ff.

6. *Rājāvalī*, *A Historical Narrative of Ceylon Kings from Vijaya to Vimala Dharma Suriya II*, translated by B. Gunasekara, Vāsala-mudali, Colombo, Government Press, Reprinted 1954 (*Rv. Tr.*), p. 57.

7. *UCHC*, I, pp. 640-647 and 672-675.

8. See below, notes 12, 13, 18, 84 and 98.

of this house has yet come to light within the territories which constituted their kingdom. The only inscription referring to an Ārya-cakravartī so far known in Ceylon is the Tamil record from Koṭagama in the Kāgalla District, which comprises a stanza eulogising an Āriyaṇ of Cīṅkai-nakar,⁹ and was probably set up in the course of a successful military expedition against a Sinhalese king in the fourteenth century. Palaeography is the only means of dating this document which does not give us the personal name of the ruler eulogised in it. The historical information which it supplies is thus very meagre, and capable of various interpretations. The Ārya-cakravartīs issued coins, all of copper, in large numbers and in a variety of types, but they do not bear the names of the rulers who issued them.¹⁰ Apart from the deductions with regard to their religion that can be drawn from the Tamil legend *Cēlu* and the figure of the divine bull Nandi on these coins, they are not therefore of much help in recovering the lost history of the family.

The Tamil literary works dating from the time of the Āriyaṇs of Cīṅkai (as the Ārya-cakravartīs are designated therein) do not refer to them as rulers of *Yālpāṇam* (Jaffna), which name, as pointed out by Father S. Gnanaprakasara, is a Tamilisation of the Sinhalese *Yāpanē*, a variant form of *Yāpāpaṭuna*.¹¹ Some time after the downfall of the Northern Kingdom, this name gained universal currency, not only as the designation of the town which was the headquarters of the administration of the Portuguese as well as of the Dutch in North Ceylon, but also, following the earlier Sinhalese practice, of the entire Peninsula and the District. Folk-tales came into being, explaining the name interpreted as a Tamil word. These stories have found a place in works like *Vaiyāpāṭal* and the *Kailāca-mālai*, which narrate legends connected with the Śaiva shrines at Kīrimalai and Nallūr. The *Kailāca-mālai*, which gives a legendary poetic account of the first Ārya king of Jaffna, must have been written some time after 1604, for it mentions the Setupatis (of Ramnad), the first of whom began to rule in the 16th century.¹²

The only work professing to be a chronicle of the Ārya kings of Jaffna is the *Yālpāṇa-vaiṇava-mālai* which, as stated in its preface, was written by Mayilvākana-pulavar in 1736, when Governor Maccara

9. H.C.P. Bell, *Report on the Kāgalla District* (RKD), p. 85; *UCHC*, I, p. 642, n. 29.

10. Father S. Gnanaprakasara, O.M.I., 'The Forgotten Coinage of the Kings of Jaffna' in *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* (CALR), Vol. V, pp. 172-179, and H.W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (CCC), pp. 88 ff.

11. *CALR*, VI, p. 141.

12. *Kailāya-mālai*, edited with an English abstract by C.V. Jambulingam, Madras, 1939 (*Km*). For the reference to the Setupatis, see p. 6 of English Abstract. Tamil proper names of literary works as well as of persons are transliterated according to the system adopted in the *Tamil Lexicon* of the University of Madras.

was administering the Dutch possessions of the Island.¹³ But this work, as it is now, must have taken shape in the nineteenth century, for it mentions the dominion of the English (*Intirēcu*) over Jaffna, in the course of a prophecy which, like all such prophecies, must have been made after the event.¹⁴ The earlier sections of the *Yālpāṇa-vaiṇava-mālai*, based on the *Takṣina-kailāca-purāṇam*, *Vaiyāpāṭal* and the *Kailāca-mālai*, contain legendary and mythological matter—accounts of a princess with the face of a horse and a prince with the face of a lion, who were transformed into normal human shape by the potency of the holy water of Kīrimalai. Whether some of the characters figuring in these legends were historical will be examined in the sequel.¹⁵ The work, however, has a connected, and seemingly sober, account of thirteen Āriyaṇ kings, the first of whom was named Vicaya Kūḷāṅkai and the last was Caṅkili, in whose time the Northern Kingdom was brought to an end by the Portuguese. This section is said to be based on two earlier works, the *Rācamurāi* and the *Pararācācēkaraṇ-ulā*, neither of which is now available. The *Yālpāṇa-vaiṇava-mālai* does not give the length of the reigns of these rulers, but furnishes dates in the Śaka era for certain outstanding events. Such of these dates as are capable of being checked with other reliable evidence have been found to be quite incorrect. This circumstance, and the late date of the work, do not inspire much confidence in the *Yālpāṇa-vaiṇava-mālai* as a source for the history of North Ceylon during the three centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese, but it may have preserved confused memories of personages who actually lived and events which did, in fact, take place.

'Āriyaṇ' of the *Yālpāṇa-vaiṇava-mālai* and Tamil literary works may be taken as identical with 'Ārya-cakravartī (Āriya-sakviti)' of Sinhalese historical and literary works. The *Yvm* may have preserved a genuine tradition when it records that thirteen Āriyaṇ rulers flourished up to Caṅkili. Allotting an average of 25 years to each ruler, the first

13. *Yālpāṇa-vaiṇava-mālai* (*Yvm*), text edited by Mudaliyar K. Sabanathan, Colombo, 1953; Translated into English by C. Brito, Colombo, 1879 (Brito). See Author's Preface, translation.

14. A fragmentary inscription engraved below an emblem of the Pāṇḍya double fish, on a stone now built into the gate of Fort Frederick at Trincomalee, is also interpreted as a prophecy, and sometimes quoted to support the historicity of the prophecy given in the *Yvm* (Brito, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29). This inscription actually contains the word *Parāṅki* (Portuguese); but the record is in the script of the sixteenth century, and was no doubt set up after the arrival of the Portuguese. This inscription has been interpreted as a prophecy about a hundred years after its date, for it was so explained to Constantino de Saa, who destroyed the Trincomalee temple. But, at that time, the prophecy took into account only the Portuguese. The Dutch and the English have come within the scope of the prophecy in later times, after these nations had played their part in the history of Trincomalee. For this inscription, see *JCBRAS*, XXX (No. 80), pp. 448 ff.

15. For the growth of these legends, see Father S. Gnanaprakasara in *CALR*, VI, pp. 135 ff.

Āriyaṇ could then be held to have established the dominion of his house in the middle of the thirteenth century. This was some time after the end of the Polonnaru kingdom, when the Sinhalese were forced to withdraw from the Rājaraṭṭha, wherein their kings had established their capitals and reigned during a millenium and a half. Such a conclusion about the date of the founding of the Northern Kingdom of the Ārya-cakravartis would be in accordance with the Sinhalese historical tradition. But the *Yvm* also gives legendary accounts of some rulers of Jaffna who are said to have flourished before the advent of the Āriyaṇ kings. The Śaka year 717 (795 A.C.) is given as the beginning of the reign of one of these kings named Ukkiraciṇkaṇ, and in Śaka 358 (466 A.C.) a prince named Kulakkōṭṭaṇ is said to have come to Tirukkōṇamalai.¹⁶ The latter is not connected with the Northern Peninsula, but the king who is said to have reigned at that time in Anurādhapura is represented as having had dealings with a Śaiva shrine there. These references have led certain modern writers to postulate theories of the existence of an independent Tamil kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula and the adjoining areas from time immemorial, and before we investigate the origin of the historical Ārya-cakravartis, we may examine briefly the validity of the arguments adduced in support of these theories.

First, we shall consider a date given in the *Yvm*. After recounting the temple-building activities claimed for Vijaya, the first legendary Sinhalese king, in the north and east of the Island (which accounts need not detain us), the *Yvm* introduces us to Kulakkōṭṭaṇ. He is said to have been a son of Manu-nīti-kaṇṭa-colaṇ, a mythical personage who, in South Indian traditions, is ascribed to a remote age long before the kings who are mentioned as flourishing in the Caṅkam times. But this son of Manu-nīti-kaṇṭa-colaṇ is said to have come, in the course of a pilgrimage, to Tirukkōṇamalai in Śaka 358 (466 A.C.) He is said to have repaired the Śaiva temple there, prepared large tracts of lands in the vicinity for agriculture, dedicated them to the temple, brought chieftains named Vanniyaṛs from South India, and entrusted them with the administration of the temple and the lands granted to it. He is also represented in other late writings as having constructed the Kantalāy (Gaṇṭalē) tank. These writings, e.g. *Kōṇēcar-kalvēṭṭu*,¹⁷ deal with the legends attached to the Śaiva temple at Tirukkōṇamalai, and appear to be later in date than the *Yvm*, and even less reliable as sources for the historian.

But Kulakkōṭṭaṇ is referred to in a work considerably older than either the *Yvm* or the *Kōṇēcar-kalvēṭṭu*, namely the *Takṣina-kailāca-purāṇam* which is a poem, mainly religious in content, written in the

16. For the stories of Ukkiraciṇkaṇ and Kulakkōṭṭaṇ, see Brito, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-13.

17. The text of the *Kōṇēcar-kalvēṭṭu* is appended to the edition of *Takṣina-kailāca-purāṇam*, referred to in the next note. For a brief account of its contents, see Brito, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxix-xiiv.

time of a Cekarācacekaraṇ, one of the Āriyaṇ (Ārya-cakravarti) rulers.¹⁸ This poem, after salutations to various deities and Śaiva saints, eulogises Kulakkōṭṭaṇ in stanza 8, recounting briefly the various buildings in the temple which owed their existence to the liberality of the prince. What is important in this eulogistic verse is that the prince is named 'Coḷa-kaṇkaṇ (Coḷa-gaṅga) who is called Kulakkōṭṭaṇ'.¹⁹ Thus, we learn that 'Kulakkōṭṭaṇ' was only a sobriquet or title, and that the real personal name of this prince was Coḷa-gaṅga. This name, 'Coḷa-gaṅga', was borne by several princes of the Eastern Gaṅga family of Kalinga. Princes who bore the name are known from the Tamil country also²⁰; one of the successors of Niśśamkamalla at Polonnaru, too, bore this name.²¹ But the name is not known to have been adopted by any royal personage before the rise of the Coḷas to an imperial position in the eleventh century. It is therefore quite unlikely that a prince of this name lived so early as Śaka 358, the date given for Kulakkōṭṭaṇ (Coḷa-gaṅga) in the *Yvm*.

A personage who can be identified with Kulakkōṭṭaṇ-Coḷa-gaṅga is mentioned in an inscription found at Trincomalee, the scene of that prince's activities. Military authorities, excavating within the Fort at Trincomalee in 1945, brought to light some Hindu images and a fragment of a carved door-jamb bearing a Sanskrit inscription in Grantha characters. The record unfortunately is fragmentary, what is preserved states that a prince named Coḷa-gaṅga came to Ceylon in the Śaka year 1145. The ancient name of Trincomalee, Gokarna, is also given in the inscription which, being inscribed on an architectural member, may reasonably be assumed to have recorded the building of the monument of which it formed a part.²² According to the tradition given in the *Yvm*, Kulakkōṭṭaṇ came to Ceylon from a foreign country, and carried out certain works of repair at the Śaiva shrine at Trincomalee. According to the *Takṣina-kailāca-purāṇam*, Kulakkōṭṭaṇ's real personal name was Coḷa-gaṅga. The Trincomalee inscription, the purport of which undoubtedly was to record the foundation of some building belonging to that shrine, tells us that Coḷa-gaṅga came to Ceylon from abroad. It is very unlikely that there were two Coḷa-gaṅgas who both came from a foreign country, landed at Trincomalee and busied themselves effecting improvements to the Śaiva shrine there. We may, therefore, confidently conclude that the Sanskrit inscription found

18. *Śrī-Takṣina-kailāca-purāṇam (Tkp)*, edited by P.P. Vaithiyaliṅka Tēsikar, Kalāniti Press, Point Pedro, 1916.

19. *Cir-tāṅku Kulakkōṭṭaṇ-eṇuñ-Cōlakaṇkaṇai nañ-cintai vaiṇpām*.

20. *History and Culture of the Indian People, (HCIP)*, Vol. V, pp. 205 and 244. See also *Upāsaka-janālaṅkāra*, Colombo edition of 1926, p. 157.

21. *Cūḷavaṁsa*, W. Geiger's translation, Reprinted by the Ceylon Government Information Department (*Cv. Tr.*), Parts I and II, Colombo, 1953; Part II, p. 129.

22. *Epigraphia Zeylanica (EZ)*, Vol. V, pp. 170-173.

in the Trincomalee Fort, the site of the Śaiva temple, is a record of Kulakkōṭṭan. And the date of his arrival in Ceylon is given as Śaka 1145, i.e. 1223 A.C. This agrees with the statement of the *Yum* that this prince had dealings with chieftains known as Vanniyaṛs, for it is only from the thirteenth century that Vanniyaṛs or Vanni are mentioned in the contemporary writings.²³ Kulakkōṭṭan of the *Yum* and other Tamil writings was thus a historical personage, but his activities at Trincomalee fell within the first half of the thirteenth century, when Māgha was dominating North Ceylon. This instance should be a warning to those who would argue for the existence of an independent Tamil kingdom in North Ceylon from early times, relying on the early dates which the *Yum* gives for personages whose names are associated with Śaiva shrines at Nallūr, Kīrimalai and Tirukkōṇamalai.

Certain legends in the *Mahāvamsa* and in the Tamil poem *Maṇimēkalai* have been interpreted as furnishing evidence for the existence of a Tamil kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula from very early times. It is stated in the chronicle that the Buddha, during His second visit to the Island, pacified two Nāga kings of Nāgadīpa who were arrayed in battle over a gem-set throne. This throne was offered by the grateful Nāga kings to the Buddha who left it in Nāgadīpa under a *rājāyatana* (*kiri-palu*) tree as an object of worship.²⁴ The place continued for many centuries to be venerated by the Buddhists of Ceylon as one of their holiest shrines. Subsequent references to Nāgadīpa in the *Mahāvamsa* and other Pāli writings, coupled with certain archaeological and epigraphical discoveries, have conclusively established that Nāgadīpa of the *Mahāvamsa* is the present Jaffna Peninsula.²⁵ The people of the Jaffna Peninsula today are Tamils. It is therefore assumed that this was so from earliest times, and the Nāga kings of Nāgadīpa, whom the Buddha converted, are concluded to have been Tamils. The argument is carried further to suggest that wherever Nāgas are mentioned in ancient literature, it is the Tamil people who are in question, and that personal names of which the word 'Nāga' is an element were borne by people with Tamil affinities.²⁶

23. UCHC, I, pp. 737-738.

24. *Mahāvamsa*, Translated into English by W. Geiger, Reprinted, 1950, pp. 5-8, chap. I, vv. 44-70.

25. For references to Nāgadīpa in the *Mahāvamsa* and the Pāli commentaries, see G.P. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, s.v., and C.W. Nicholas, *Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon*, JCBRAS, New Series, Vol. VI, pp. 83 ff. For archaeological remains in the Jaffna Peninsula and its identification with Nāgadīpa, see Paul Pieris, 'Nāgadīpa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna' in JCBRAS, XXVI (No. 70), pp. 11-30, XXVIII (No. 72), pp. 40-60, and EZ, IV, pp. 229-237.

26. Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam in JCBRAS, XXVI (No. 70), pp. 31 ff. and *Ancient Jaffna*, Madras, 1926, pp. 7 ff.

In the Tamil poem, the heroine Maṇimēkalai is miraculously transported to a small island called Maṇipallavam, where there was a seat or footstool associated with the Buddha, which made devotees who worshipped it remember their past lives, and a pond in which appeared on certain days a miraculous Bowl containing an inexhaustible supply of food. The seat in Maṇipallavam is said to have been made use of by the Buddha when He preached to and reconciled two kings of the Nāga world, who were about to attack each other with their followers, and was placed in Maṇipallavam by Indra, the king of gods.²⁷ The similarity of the legend of the holy seat given in the *Mahāvamsa* to that in the *Maṇimēkalai* has led certain scholars to identify Maṇipallavam with Nāgadīpa, and as the former refers to the two kings as having their habitat in the Nāgadīpa, the Nākanātu (the Nāga world), wherever it is mentioned, has been taken as referring to the Jaffna Peninsula. Continuing this method of extracting 'history' out of legend, a Nāga damsel who is said in the *Maṇimēkalai* to have appeared in a garden near Pukār, remained for sometime with a legendary Coḷa king and disappeared after conceiving a child, is taken to have been a princess from Jaffna, and her father an ancient ruler of Jaffna.²⁸

In the *Mahāvamsa* and in the *Maṇimēkalai*, as indeed in the ancient Sanskrit and Pāli literature in general, the Nāgas are never represented as human beings, but as a class of superhuman beings, who inhabited a subterranean world, whose normal form was that of serpents, but who could assume any form at will. Certain places in the world of men, such as Nāgadīpa and Kalyāṇi in Ceylon, are also mentioned as their abodes, but the fact that they were not regarded as human beings is proved by the statement in the *Mahāvamsa* that, at the time of the Buddha's visit to Nāgadīpa and other places in Ceylon, there were no human beings in this Island.²⁹ The names of some of the Nāga kings in Ceylon legends, Maṇi-nāga or Maṇi-akkhika and Mahodara, also find mention in Sanskrit literature among superhuman Nāgas,³⁰ and the cult of Maṇi-nāga prevailed in India up to medieval times.³¹ The euhemerisation of these Nāgas into human beings, though fashionable with certain scholars, is not justified; the arguments for taking Nāgas as human beings would also enable the Devas to be included in the same category. Even if the Nāgas be taken as human beings, there is no particular reason to treat them as identical with Dravidians. If the

27. *Maṇimēkalai*, edited by V. Saminatha Aiyar, Madras, 1921, Cantos X-XII. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Maṇimekhalai in its Historical Setting*, London, 1928, pp. 129 ff.

28. C. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, Madras, 1926, pp. 26-28.

29. *Mahāvamsa*, chap. xv, v. 164.

30. *Mahābhārata*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Edition, *Ādi-parva*, chap. 31, v. 15.

31. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 324-328.

Nāgas be taken as Dravidians for the reason that the ancient Nāgadīpa is now inhabited by Tamils, Nāgas may also be taken as Āryans because the people living in and around Nāgapura of North India today are Āryan in speech. Though there is no doubt that the Jaffna Peninsula was known in ancient days as Nāgadīpa, there were also other regions in Ceylon which had the same name. A Nāgadīvīpa is also given in the Purāṇas as one of the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa, and scholars are not agreed as to its location.³²

The identity of Maṇipallavam with Nāgadīpa, and consequently with the Jaffna Peninsula, cannot be established. The distance from Pukār to Maṇipallavam might agree with any of the small islands near the Jaffna Peninsula as well as with the latter. And the *Maṇimēkalai* definitely states that it was an uninhabited islet,³³ whereas the Jaffna Peninsula had been an inhabited place for several centuries before the date of that poem. The *Maṇimēkalai* does not state that the two Nāga kings had their abode in Maṇipallavam, or that they were preparing for combat there. The Buddha seat is said to have been placed in Maṇipallavam by Indra, not by the Buddha Himself.³⁴ The reason that the poet imagined Maṇipallavam as possessing a Buddha seat does not prove its identity with Nāgadīpa, for more than one place in the ancient Buddhist world competed for the honour of possessing this sacred object. According to the belief of Talaing Buddhists, this seat was preserved at a place in the Malay Peninsula.³⁵ According to references to Nākanātu in the *Maṇimēkalai*, it cannot be taken as identical with Maṇipallavam. It is said in Canto VIII, l. 54, that Nākanātu was situated below the expanse of the earth. Canto IX, ll. 13-22, states that an earthquake which destroyed a city in Gandhāra also affected 100 *yojanas* of Nākanātu, which is impossible if Nākanātu was Jaffna. These references clearly prove that the *Maṇimēkalai* meant the Nāga world, which the ancient Indians located below the Earth, by the name Nākanātu. The Tamil word *nātu* has the meaning of 'world' in addition to the better known meaning of 'country'. Thus the daughter of a king of Nākanātu, with whom a legendary Coḷa king is said to have had a love affair, was certainly not a Jaffna princess, and this legend does not prove the existence of an independent kingdom in North Ceylon in ancient times. Legends of human kings begetting sons on Nāga damsels are not uncommon. Thus the legend in the *Mahāvamsa* relating to Nāgadīpa and the edifying stories of the *Maṇimēkalai* do not furnish evidence for the existence of an independent kingdom in North Ceylon. As a matter of fact, no historical information whatever can be extracted

out of them, beyond the light they throw on the religious beliefs of the people among whom the legends and stories were in circulation. Proper names with 'Nāga' as a component, if they signify anything, would give us an idea of the religious beliefs current among the people who favoured such names, but not their ethnic affiliations.

The Lambakaṇṇas, from whom originated the second Sinhalese royal dynasty, are claimed by some writers to have had affinities with Tamil people. The main argument for this view is that Vasabha, the first Lambakaṇṇa king, according to the chronicle, had his home in the Northern Province (*uttara-passa*).³⁶ The population of the present Northern Province being Tamil today, Vasabha, who came from the North — so the argument seems to run — must have been a Tamil. The territorial division called the Uttara-passa in ancient times comprised the whole of the area to the north of Anurādhapura, and was thus much more extensive than the present Northern Province. The people who inhabited this region in ancient times, according to numerous references in the *Mahāvamsa*, and other Pāli writings, were as much Sinhalese as the people in the other three *passas*. Moreover, Lambakaṇṇas in ancient days did not live only in the north. They were living in the region near Mahiyāṅga.³⁷ A Brāhmī inscription mentioning a minister with the name or title of Labakaṇaka (Lambakaṇṇaka) has come to light at a place in ancient Rohaṇa.³⁸

The *Cūlavamsa*, in its account of the Pāṇḍya campaign of Parākramabāhu I, has mentioned that South Indian chieftains who are called Lambakaṇṇas were appointed to carry out the duties of Lambakaṇṇas when the Pāṇḍya prince who was the protégé of the Sinhalese king was consecrated by the Sinhalese general.³⁹ This has been considered evidence for the existence of a Lambakaṇṇa clan in South India, and for the conclusion that the Lambakaṇṇas of the early Christian centuries were of South Indian origin, and hence Dravidians.⁴⁰ The reference in the *Cūlavamsa*, it should be pointed out, is not to a clan called Lambakaṇṇas, but to dignitaries who had to perform the duties of Lambakaṇṇas. What these duties are cannot be gathered from the context, but in Ceylon at that time the title of Lambakaṇṇa (Lāmāni) was borne by certain high dignitaries, and the Sinhalese military leader could very well have applied the title to South Indian dignitaries who performed the same or similar functions. Among the thousands of

32. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 132-137.

33. Canto XIV, l. 86, *Āṅku vālvōr yāvarum inmaiṇi*.

34. Canto VIII, l. 52, *Tēvar-kōṇ itta māmaṇipṇṇikāi*.

35. Colonel G.E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, London, 1909, p. 114.

36. Rasanayagam, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

37. *Mahāvamsa*, chap. XXXVI, v. 58.

38. At a place named Nāmaluva in the Pānama Pattu, Batticaloa District. I am indebted to Mr. C.W. Nicholas for information about this inscription, which is still unpublished.

39. *Cūlavamsa*, Geiger's translation, chap. 77, vv. 27-28. *Cv. Tr.* II, p. 94.

40. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, University of Calcutta, 1942, pp. 86-87.

personages who figure in South Indian Tamil inscriptions of this period, not a single who bore the title of Lambakanna or its equivalent has yet been noticed. Until the name is found in a South Indian document, the reference in the *Cūlavamsa* cannot be taken as evidence for the existence of a Lambakanna clan in South India. Even if such a clan did exist in South India in the twelfth century, there is no justification to derive the first century Lambakannas of Ceylon from the ancestors of the members of that clan. The Lambakanna kings of Ceylon, beginning with the first, have left a large number of inscriptions. All of them are in old Sinhalese. Though we cannot be certain yet about the origin of the Lambakannas, there is no evidence to indicate that they were of Dravidian stock. Still less reason is there to connect them with a kingdom in North Ceylon.

The statement of Cosmas Indicopleustes that, when he visited Ceylon, there were two kings in the Island of Sielediba (i.e. Simhala-dvīpa) who were at feud with one another has been made the base of an argument for the existence, in the seventh century, of an independent kingdom of Jaffna.⁴¹ What Cosmas actually says is: 'This is a large oceanic island lying in the Indian Sea. By the Indians it is called Sielediba, but by the Greeks Taprobane, and therein is found the hyacinth stone . . . There are two kings in the island, and they are at feud the one with the other. The one has the hyacinth country, and the other the rest of the country where the harbour is, and the centre of trade.'⁴² The translator of Cosmas is of opinion that by hyacinth in this passage is meant the sapphire; others take it to be the amethyst. In either case, that part of the Island wherein is found the hyacinth must be Rohana, which produced and still produces precious stones, including sapphires and amethysts. The king who had the hyacinth country was thus the ruler of Rohana, who at times was not subservient to his suzerain at Anurādhapura. The other king, who possessed that part of the country where the harbour was, must have been the king of Anurādhapura, for whose existence it is not necessary to quote evidence. It cannot be argued that the Anurādhapura king was referred to by Cosmas as the king who possessed the hyacinth, due to the fact that a temple in his kingdom was adorned with a great gem described by foreign travellers, for the words of Cosmas are quite clearly 'the hyacinth country'. A gem adorning a temple was not necessarily the possession of the king, and he could not on that account be referred to as king of the hyacinth country. In fact, Cosmas himself mentions this temple which contained the hyacinth,⁴³ and in his statement there is no suggestion that the king of the region in which it was could be described as the king of the hyacinth country on that account.

41. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 120-121.

42. *The Christian Topography of Cosmas*, translated by J.W. McCrindle, London, 1897, pp. 363-364.

43. Cosmas, *op. cit.*; p. 365.

Another traveller who visited Ceylon some time after Cosmas has also referred to the two kings of the Island. Vajrabodhi, who came to Ceylon from Kāñcī shortly after 689 A.C., spent some time at Anurādhapura, honoured by the king. He mentions Abhayarāja-vihāra (Abhayagiri), definitely establishing that it was at Anurādhapura that he first sojourned. Later, he wished to go on a pilgrimage to Śrīpāda, and for this purpose 'passed into the kingdom of Lou-ho-na (Rohana)'. Vajrabodhi expounded the Mahāyāna doctrine to the king of Rohana.⁴⁴ Thus, when two kings of Ceylon are mentioned with reference to the seventh century, we have to understand the paramount sovereign at Anurādhapura and the feudatory prince of Rohana. Cosmas visited Ceylon in the first part of the seventh century, and the narrative in the *Cūlavamsa* for that period contains evidence for the fact that at times the ruler of Rohana was refractory.⁴⁵ Possibly Cosmas came at a time when the ruler of Rohana had adopted an attitude of insubordination towards the king at Anurādhapura, and his statement that the two kings of the Island were at feud one with the other can be justified from what is known of the history of the times, without postulating the existence of an independent kingdom in Jaffna, for which there is no evidence. The harbour referred to by Cosmas, it is agreed, was Mahātittha, and there is ample evidence in the chronicle that this port was under the direct rule of the Anurādhapura king from the earliest times up to the tenth century.⁴⁶ At Mahātittha itself, now called Tirukkētīśvaram or Māntai, is found a pillar edict of a Sinhalese king of about the eighth century,⁴⁷ and the pillar edict of Kassapa IV (898-914), preserved till recently at the Mannar Kacceri, must have been found at a place in the neighbourhood. Inscriptions discovered in the neighbourhood of Giant's Tank, earlier in date than the eleventh century, are all in Sinhalese.⁴⁸ It is only after the Cola conquest in the first decade of the eleventh century that Tamil inscriptions had been set up at Mahātittha or the neighbourhood.⁴⁹

According to the *Yvm*, a prince named Ukkiraciṅkaṇ (Ugrasīṃha), descended from Vijaya's brother, invaded Ceylon from North India in the Śaka year 717 (795 A.C.) and, after a severe struggle, succeeded in making himself master of half of the Island, while the southern parts remained in possession of another king. Ukkiraciṅkaṇ had the face of a lion, but he acquired human characteristics in his physiognomy by

44. *JCBRAS*, XXIV (No. 68), p. 88.

45. See *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 41, vv. 86 ff.

46. See *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 48, v. 51, chap. 51, vv. 28-45, chap. 52, v. 72.

47. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. I, p. 169, No. 351.

48. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, pp. 100-113.

49. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 249 f.

50. *South Indian Inscriptions (SII)*, Vol. IV, p. 495 f.

making a pilgrimage to Kirimalai. He is said to have married a Coḷa princess who also at Kirimalai exchanged her equine face for that of a human. A son and a daughter were the issue of this union. The son inherited, it is said, the leonine features of his father, not in the face, but in another part of his anatomy. This prince, named Naraciṅka-rācaṇ (Narasimha-rāja) was also known as Vālaciṅka-rācaṇ (Vālasimha-rāja) and Ceyatuṅka-vararāca-ciṅkaṇ (Jayatuṅga-Vararājasimha). He was married to his sister Caṇpakāvati and had no children.⁵¹

In spite of the express statement in the *Yvm* that this couple had no issue, some modern writers have endowed them with offspring, and built up a Jaffna dynasty of kings originating from them. As Ukkira-ciṅkaṇ is said to have been a scion of the dynasty founded by Vijaya's brother, and as, according to certain accounts, Vijaya came from Kalinga, his descendants are conjectured to have been of the Kalinga dynasty. And all the matrimonial and other alliances of the Sinhalese kings from Mahinda IV up to Māgha are boldly proclaimed to have been with these hypothetical rulers of Jaffna. In the case of Mahinda IV, the following unanswerable argument has been put forward. 'What was the Kalinga Cakravarti race if it did not refer to the Kalinga dynasty ruling in Jaffna?'⁵² We have already shown that the dates given in the *Yvm* are thoroughly unreliable. We shall later consider whether Ukkira-ciṅkaṇ can be regarded as an historical personage. Here we will only point out that there are insuperable objections to taking Kalinga of the later chapters of the *Cūlavamsa* to have been Jaffna. Kalinga kings of Polonnaru, in their inscriptions, state that their homeland was in Jambudvīpa, which could have denoted either the peninsula of India or Further India, but not an Island or a part thereof.⁵³ Sāhasamalla, in his Polonnaru inscription, states that he, on his way from Kalinga to Ceylon, tarried for sometime at a port in the Coḷa country. What need was there to go to the Coromandel Coast in order to arrive at Polonnaru from Jaffna? We have elsewhere given ample evidence to prove that this Kalinga in question was a region in the Malay Peninsula, and that its capital Simhapura is the modern Singora.⁵⁴

The existence of an independent kingdom of Jaffna in the twelfth century has also been inferred by assuming that Jaffna Peninsula was the Ariyadesa, the region from which came Viradeva who made an almost successful attempt to wrest the sovereignty from Vikramabāhu I. It is assumed that, as the Jaffna Peninsula was ruled by the Ārya-cakravartis at one time, that region was called the Ariyadesa and, on this assumption, it is argued that this reference to the Ariyadesa

establishes the existence of the Ārya-cakravartis in Jaffna in the twelfth century.⁵⁵ But, even in times when the Ārya-cakravartis were undoubtedly exercising sovereignty over the Jaffna Peninsula, there is not a single instance where that part of the Island has been called Ariyadesa in any historical writing of the Sinhalese, or as a matter of that, in any Tamil work produced under the Ārya-cakravartis. The narrative in the *Cūlavamsa* clearly indicates that Viradeva, who is described as of the Ariyadesa,⁵⁶ was an adventurer from a country other than Ceylon, and not a ruler of a part of this Island. For, it is said in the chronicle that, when Vikramabāhu heard of Viradeva's landing at Mahātitttha, he resolved to uproot the invader before he gained a footing in Laṅkā. This statement would be inappropriate if Viradeva was the ruler of Jaffna, for he would in that case be having more than a foothold in Ceylon already. The Jaffna Peninsula has always been regarded as a part of Laṅkā by Pali and Sinhalese writers, and not a region distinct from Laṅkā.

The anthology of Tamil verse known as *Tamil-nāvalar-caritai* contains a verse, attributed to the poet Pukaḷēnti, in which an Ārya king's death is bemoaned. The anthology also gives anecdotes of the poet's visit to the court of an Āriyacēkaraṇ of Ciṅkai, and of receiving valuable presents from that ruler.⁵⁷ On the ground that the date of Pukaḷēnti is the second half of the twelfth century, this anthology is quoted as containing evidence for the existence of a kingdom of the Ārya-cakravartis in Jaffna in the twelfth century.⁵⁸ Anent this, it may be stated that the anthology in question is a recent compilation in which stray verses attributed by tradition to various poets, together with anecdotes about the poets, have been collected together. It is a work of the same type as the Sanskrit *Bhojaprabandha*, and the attributions made in such works have to be critically examined before they are accepted as correct. The verses in question do not occur in any of the works which are attested to be of Pukaḷēnti. And the date of Pukaḷēnti also has not yet been settled beyond doubt. Nilakanta Sastri, after referring to a tradition which makes Pukaḷēnti a contemporary of Oṭṭakūṭṭaṇ, on which is based the view that he flourished in the twelfth century, gives his opinion as follows: 'This pretty story has no apparent claim to our credence' He further states; 'The age of Pukaḷēnti cannot be established by any tangible evidence', and that 'modern critics place him (i.e. Pukaḷēnti) a century later than Kūṭṭaṇ'.

55. *Cv. Tr. II*, p. 228, chap. 61, vv. 36 ff. Rasanayagam, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-7.

56. Geiger adopts a reading *Ariyadesiso* (*desa + iso*) and translates as 'sole sovereign of Palandipa'. The reading *desi so* in Geiger's text, or *desiyo* in the edition of Sumangala and Batuvantudave, is preferable to that on which Geiger bases his translation.

57. *Tamil-nāvalar-caritai*, edited by T. Kanakasuntaram Pillai, Madras, 1921 p. 51 f.

58. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 284-6.

51. Brito, *op. cit.* pp. 81-3.

52. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 272 ff.

53. *EZ*, II, p. 115; *Ibid.*, p. 228.

54. *JCBRAS*, New Series, Vol. VII, p. 27.

The date of Pukalēnti would then be the latter half of the thirteenth century. Nilakanta Sastri also admits that works with little or no claim to literary merit have been fathered on Pukalēnti.⁵⁹ It thus follows that the verses attributed to Pukalēnti are not beyond question from the hand of that poet, and that his date too is a matter of controversy, literary critics being inclined to place him in the late thirteenth century. The verses in the *Tamīl-nāvalar-caritai*, referred to, do not therefore afford evidence for the existence of a kingdom of the Ārya-cakravartī in the twelfth century.

The existence of a Tamil kingdom in North Ceylon has also been argued for on the authority of a verse in the *Cola-manṭala-catakam*, a Tamil poem of recent date. This verse states that, during the time of a famine in Ceylon, a thousand boat-loads of paddy were sent by a South Indian chieftain named Caṭayaṇ or Caṭayappa-mutali, to Pararācaciṅkaṇ (Pararājasimha), king of Kandy. This chieftain is believed to have flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, and as Kandy became a seat of royalty on a much later date, it has been proposed to substitute Jaffna for Kandy. And further, as a king named Pararācaciṅkaṇ is not known to have ruled in Jaffna, it has been proposed by some to read Vararācaciṅkam instead, and by others to read Pararācacēkaraṇ, and thus make the recipient of this South Indian bounty a king of Jaffna. And, as a consequence of these operations, we are asked to accept the existence of a Tamil kingdom in North Ceylon in the twelfth century.⁶⁰ There is no direct evidence for the date of Caṭayappa-mutali; even if he did actually flourish in the twelfth century, no reliance can be placed on a late poetical work when that makes him a contemporary of other personages.

We need not take into consideration various suggested identifications of toponyms, mentioned by classical and Arab writers, with places in the Jaffna Peninsula, and the totally invalid inferences with regard to ancient history drawn from such identifications. Some of these geographical names appropriated for the Jaffna Peninsula are in other parts of Ceylon, some in South India, and others even in the Malay Peninsula.⁶¹ The correct identification of these geographical names has been made by scholars of repute. We might only draw attention to the identification of Zabak of the Arab writers with the Jaffna Peninsula, against the clear evidence which points to Zabak being Jāvaka, an ancient kingdom in the Malay Peninsula. This particular item of 'evidence' for the existence of a Tamil kingdom in North Ceylon before

the thirteenth century has been too much even for the late Professor Krishnaswamy Ayangar.⁶²

Thus the arguments based on literary evidence set forth by modern writers for the existence of a Tamil kingdom in North Ceylon before the thirteenth century can be shown to be fallacious. There is no archaeological, epigraphical or numismatic evidence for such a conclusion. No inscription or coin or any other type of monument lending support to such a conclusion has ever been brought to light in the Jaffna Peninsula. In fact, the oldest Tamil inscriptions known from Ceylon have been discovered in other parts of the Island. Specimens of sculpture, architectural fragments, and coins recovered at ancient sites in the Jaffna Peninsula are of the same type as those found at ancient sites of the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries in other parts of the Island.⁶³ South Indian inscriptions which contain numerous references to this Island make no mention of a Tamil kingdom in the north of Ceylon before the thirteenth century, but after we begin to obtain glimpses of such a kingdom from the Sinhalese historical writings, evidence for it is found in Pāṇḍya records, and the Vijayanagara documents make direct mention of Jaffna and its rulers. Early Tamil literature excludes Ceylon from the regions in which Tamil was the language of the people.⁶⁴ Such references as we have in the Pāli chronicles and commentaries to Nāgadīpa and religious sites therein indicate that the region did not differ, with regard to the religion and language of its people, from other areas of the Island. The *Sammohavinodanī* gives us the story of a blind prince called Dīparāja who was the ruler of Nāgadīpa, and a prince of this name is mentioned in a pre-Christian Brāhmī inscription found at Mihintalē.⁶⁵ But this Dīparāja was a son of the Anurādhapura king, who is not named, and must have governed Nāgadīpa as a feudatory of the latter, just as feudatory princes in other parts of the Island did. The Vallipuram gold plate⁶⁶ establishes that Nāgadīpa was given in the reign of Vasabha (65-109 A.C.) by a minister (*amātya*) of that king. The Nainativu Tamil inscription⁶⁷ proves that not only the Jaffna Peninsula but also the neighbouring islands acknowledged the authority of Parākramabāhu I. The fact that this inscription is in Tamil may indicate that the population of these islands and of the Jaffna Peninsula was then largely Tamil. On the other hand, the inscription which

62. *Ibid.*, Foreword, pp. iv-v. It was in times much later than those to which the Arab geographers refer, i.e. after Māgha or Candrabhānu, that the Jaffna Peninsula was known as Jāvagama. See below, p. 21.

63. *JCBRAS*, Vol. XXVI (No. 70), pp. 11-30 and Vol. XXVIII (No. 72), pp. 40-60.

64. *Tolkāppiyam*, *Pāyiram*, ll. 1-2, *Cilappatikāram*, Canto VIII, ll. 1-2 and Aṭṭiyārkunallar's comments thereon.

65. *UCHC*, I., p. 229.

66. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 229-237.

67. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 208.

59. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, Second Edition, Madras, 1955, p. 673.

60. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 287-289.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 81 ff, 192 ff.

Niśsamkamalla left at Rāmēśvaram was in Sinhalese.⁶⁸ Scores of Sinhalese place names, slightly altered by the Tamil pronunciation, are still in use in the Jaffna Peninsula,⁶⁹ and the final abandonment of that part of Ceylon by the Sinhalese seems to have taken place in comparatively recent times. In fact, one of the themes of the *Yvm* is the recurring hostility between the native Sinhalese in the Jaffna Peninsula and the Tamil colonists introduced therein by the Āriyaṇ kings. According to this source, it was by a tyrannical order of Caṅkili in the sixteenth century that the last of the Sinhalese were driven out from the Jaffna Peninsula and their places of worship destroyed.⁷⁰

This lengthy digression establishes one fact that has a bearing on the subject under discussion, i.e. that the Ārya-cakravarti rulers who came into prominence in the fourteenth century were not the scions of a royal house that had exercised dominion over North Ceylon from early times. We now take up the question of the origin of the Northern Kingdom, examining first the traditional accounts of the same given in the *Yāl-pāna-vai-pava-mālai* and the *Kailāca-mālai*.⁷¹ The legend of Ukkiraciṅkaṇ has already been referred to. It can be inferred from the *Yvm* that tradition regarded him as a king of North Ceylon, for another king is said to have remained in possession of the southern half of the Island. Ukkiraciṅkaṇ, it is said, reigned at first from a place named Katiramalai, but later moved to Ceṅkaṭaka-nakari. Of these two names, the first suggests Kataragama and the second Senkadagala (i.e. Kandy)⁷², both of which places were outside the regions that could have been within the dominions of a ruler of North Ceylon. Naraciṅkarācaṇ, who is said to have been the son of Ukkiraciṅkaṇ and had the tail of a lion, brought down colonists from South India and settled them in various parts of his dominions. He died without issue, and there was conflict between the native Sinhalese and the new colonists. In this period of confusion, many of the latter are said to have returned to South India. But one of these colonists, a Vellāḷaṇ named Maḷavaṇ, who came from Pompariyūr in the Pāṇḍya country, successfully suppressed the Sinhalese. He heard that a Coḷa prince was then residing in Maturai pursuing studies, and invited him to come to Jaffna and become its ruler. This prince, named Ciṅkai Āriyaṇ, accepted the invitation and

was duly installed as king. He was also known as Kūlaṅkai-āriyaṇ or Vicaya-kūlaṅkaic-cakkaravartti, the epithet Kūlaṅkai being explained as due to a defect in the arm. He is said to have come to Jaffna with a minister named Puvaneka-vāku (Bhuvanekabāhu) who, at the request of his master, founded the temple at Nallūr in Śaka 870. This Vicaya-kūlaṅkai, the first Āriyaṇ king, is said to have brought large numbers of colonists from South India and settled them in various places in his kingdom. According to the *Kailāca-mālai*, Ciṅkai Āriyaṇ was of Pāṇḍya, not Coḷa, extraction.

It has been suggested by Father S. Gnanaprakasara and H.W. Codrington that Ukkiraciṅkaṇ was no other than Māgha, who brought about the downfall of the Sinhalese kingdom in Rājaraṭṭha. Ukkiraciṅkaṇ is described in the *Yvm* as descended from the younger brother of Vijaya. Māgha was a Kalinga, and the Kalinga kings Niśsamkamalla and Sāhasamalla claim to be scions of Vijaya's dynasty. Ukkiraciṅkaṇ made himself master of the northern half of the Island, while another king ruled over the southern half. Māgha also made himself master of Rājaraṭṭha, the northern part of the Island, while the southern parts were ruled by various chieftains of whom the most prominent was Vijayabāhu, the founder of the Daṁbadeṇi dynasty. Ukkiraciṅkaṇ's son, it is said, brought down colonists from South India, and settled them in various places within his territories. Māgha, according to the *Pūjāvali*, settled Tamils in every village. Māgha, during the greater part of his rule, had Polonnaru as his capital. Ukkiraciṅkaṇ is said to have ruled at first from Katira-malai. It is not impossible that *Katira* (*Kadira*) is the Tamil pronunciation of Kaṇḍavura, a name by which Polonnaru is often referred to in Sinhalese writings. Ceṅkaṭaka-nakari, at which Ukkiraciṅkaṇ is said to have established his capital after leaving Katira-malai, has been taken to be the same as Ciṅkai-nakar, the seat of the later Āriyaṇ kings. But there is no evidence to support this conjecture.

The *Kōṇēcar-kalvetṭu*, a work of recent date which recounts legends of the Trincomalee temple, refers to a son of Kulakkōṭṭaṇ, named Ciṅkakumāraṇ (Siṁhakumāra), who had the face of a lion, and later became king.⁷³ If Ciṅka-kumāraṇ, who had the face of a lion, be the same as Ukkiraciṅkaṇ, who also had the face of a lion, the latter may be ascribed to the thirteenth century, for Kulakkōṭṭaṇ, otherwise Coḍagaṅga, is mentioned in the Trincomalee inscription of 1223 A.C. If we can have faith in the legend given in the *Kōṇēcar-kalvetṭu*, the lion-faced king, Ukkiraciṅkaṇ or Ciṅka-kumāraṇ, may be taken to have flourished about the same time as Māgha, whether he was identical with the latter or not.

73. Brito, *op. cit.*, p. xlv; The *Kōṇēcar-kalvetṭu* also gives legends of a king named Gajabāhu. The *Cūlavamsa* and inscriptions establish that Gajabāhu II, who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, was connected with Kantalāy (Gaṅgātāṭa) and Koṭṭhasāra (Koṭṭiyār) near Trincomalee.

68. *Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G*, Vol. II, pp. 105-6; No. 90 of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy (ARE)* for 1905.

69. B. Horsburgh, 'Place Names in the Jaffna Peninsula', *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. II, pp. 54-88.

70. Brito, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

71. Brito, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff. *Km*, English Abstract, pp. 1-3.

72. The name 'Senkadagala' for Kandy occurs for the first time in an inscription of the third year of Vikramabāhu III, i.e. 1360 A.C. (*EZ*, IV, p. 273). The resemblance of 'Ceṅkaṭaka-nakari' to 'Senkadagala' may only be accidental. The word *kaṭaka* in the name indicates a military camp. It was possibly one of the places where Māgha had stationed his garrisons.

On the other hand, it has been suggested⁷⁴ that Vicaya-kūlaṅkai the first Āriyaṅ king, was no other than Māgha, who in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* is called Kāliṅga-Vijayabāhu.⁷⁵ Being a scion of the Kāliṅga dynasty, Māgha was entitled to the style of Kāliṅga-cakravartī, and the full name of Vijayabāhu Kāliṅga-cakravartī might very well have given rise, when pronounced by Tamils, to the form Vicaya-kūlaṅkaic-cakkaravartti. The settling of Tamil colonists in Ceylon is attributed to both. In this connection, it is not without significance to note that Ukkiraciṅkaṇ is represented in the *Yvm* as a great devotee and a benefactor of the Śaiva shrine of Kīrimalai, while Vicaya-kūlaṅkai, though he also repaired the shrines at Kīrimalai, is specially lauded as the founder of the temple at Nallūr. It is, therefore, not improbable that Ukkiraciṅkaṇ and Vicaya-kūlaṅkai are both the names or titles of one and the same ruler, the priests of one shrine preferring one and those of the second the other. And different legends could have grown around the names among the priests of the two sanctuaries. However this conjecture may be, it may be taken as quite probable that the origin of the independent kingdom of North Ceylon was due to Māgha. Parākramabāhu II, or rather his son and his nephew, succeeded in dislodging Māgha from Polonnaru, but the Sinhalese historical writings pertaining to the period do not specifically state that they captured the forts in North Ceylon occupied by Māgha's forces. It is therefore quite probable, as Codrington has conjectured,⁷⁶ that Māgha, after he was driven from Polonnaru, or his heir, continued to rule the Jaffna Peninsula and the adjoining areas from one of his fortresses in the North, which may be the Ceṅkaṭaka-nakari of the *Yvm*. The *Pūjāvali* and the *Cūlavamsa* refer to Māgha as a Tamil king, though he is also said to have been of Kāliṅga extraction; this was possibly for the reason that his subjects and his soldiers who maintained his authority were largely Tamils.

If Vicaya-kūlaṅkai was no other than Māgha, Tamil tradition has confused memories about him with those about other personages of a later period. His chief minister, at whose advise he effected the colonisation of the Jaffna Peninsula by Tamils from South India and who was generally entrusted with the carrying out of his policies, is called Puvinēyapāku, i.e. Bhuvanekabāhu. According to the *Km*, this Bhuvanekabāhu was a learned Brahmin of high family from Madhurā. It was this minister who, at the direction of the king, built the temple of Kantacuvāmi at Nallūr. The date of the foundation of the shrine is given as 870 of the Śaka era, i.e. 948 A.C. A formula called the *kattiyam*,

74. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 328 ff. Mr. S. Natesan has taken Vicaya-kūlaṅkai to be the same as Jayabāhu who, according to the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Pūjāvali*, was the sub-king of Māgha, *UCHC*, I, pp. 691-2.

75. *Ns. Tr.*, p. 22.

76. *CCC.*, p. 74.

which is still recited in the worship at the Kantacuvāmi temple at Nallūr, contains the names of Śrīsaṅghabodhi Bhuvanaikabāhu and his two queens Gajavalli and Mahāvalli.⁷⁷ This Bhuvanaikabāhu was no other than Prince Sapumal who conquered Yāpāpaṭuna (Jaffna) about 1450 A.C. in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, ruled there as king and later ascended the throne of Kōṭṭe. It is therefore clear that the Kantacuvāmi temple was built or restored by Bhuvanaikabāhu VI after he ascended the throne. With this clear instance of confusion in the tradition as found in the *Yvm* and *Km*, one is justified in treating with scepticism the Pāṇḍya or Coḷa ancestry which these sources have given to Vicaya-kūlaṅkai. The king is said to have organised the administration of his kingdom by entrusting the four quarters to four *adhikāris*. In this arrangement we can recognise the continuance of the division of the kingdom into four *passas*, which was instituted at an early period by the kings of Anurādhapura.

The inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas afford evidence for the existence in the thirteenth century of a kingdom in North Ceylon, distinct from that of the Sinhalese with their capital at Daṁbadeṇi. Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, whose date of accession is 1253 A.C., in an inscription dated in the tenth regnal year, boasts that he was pleased to take Sōṇāḍu, Īlam (Ceylon), and Cāvakaṇ (Jāvaka), together with his crowned head.⁷⁸ In another inscription of the eleventh year, at Kuḍumiyāmalai, he claims to have killed one of the two kings of Ceylon, captured his army and treasures, and received elephants as tribute from the other.⁷⁹ We have elsewhere discussed the bearing that these inscriptions have on the history of the Island during this period, and given reasons for the view that Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya helped Parākramabāhu II to vanquish Māgha.⁸⁰ The Jāvaka referred to in Vīra Pāṇḍya's inscription is generally identified with Candrabhānu who twice invaded Ceylon, and lost his life in the second attempt. As Candrabhānu lost his life at the hands of Vijayabāhu and Vīrabāhu, the princes who commanded the Sinhalese army, Vīra Pāṇḍya would not have taken the credit for that achievement. As has been conclusively established elsewhere, Māgha was a prince from the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra, and his warriors, referred to as Malalas in contemporary Sinhalese writings, were Malays, i.e. Jāvakas.⁸¹ Consequently, the Jāvaka referred to in Vīra Pāṇḍya's inscriptions could very well have been Māgha. It has also been pointed out that the policy of the Sinhalese rulers of Daṁbadeṇi was a continuation of that of the Pāṇḍya faction in the later Polonnaru period, opposed to that of the Kāliṅga faction, championed by Māgha. After

77. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 332 f.n.

78. *ARE.*, No. 588 of 1916.

79. *ARE.*, No. 356 of 1906. *Inscriptions of the Pudukottai State*, No. 366.

80. *UCHC*, I, p. 621-2.

81. *JCBRS*, New Series, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 6-16.

the demise of Niśśamkamalla, the Kalinga faction in Ceylon appears to have had the support of the Coḷa power, while the rising Pāṇḍya power in South India would have given its support to the Daṁbadeṇi kings. When the Coḷa power collapsed, the Kalinga faction, i.e. the Jāvakas, appear to have come to terms with the Pāṇḍyas, for Vīra Pāṇḍya, in his inscriptions at Kuḍumiyāmalai already referred to, has recorded that the son of the Jāvaka who had been recalcitrant for some time, made his submission to Vīra Pāṇḍya, and was restored to the kingdom once ruled by his father.⁸² The words used in the inscription, in justification of this act of Vīra Pāṇḍya, that 'it is just that Īlam once ruled by the father should be obtained by the son' points to Māgha, rather than to Candrabhānu, as the father of the Jāvaka prince restored to power by the Pāṇḍya conqueror. For Candrabhānu could hardly have been referred to as having ruled Īlam i.e. Ceylon. This kingdom of 'the Jāvaka's son', established under the protection of the Pāṇḍyas, must have been in North Ceylon, for the south, and part of the northern areas up to Anurādhapura and Polonnaru, acknowledged the authority of the Daṁbadeṇi king. Place names still in vogue in the Jaffna Peninsula, such as Cāvakkaccēri (the Jāvaka settlement) and Cāvankōṭṭai (the Jāvaka Fort), remind us of the dominion of the Jāvakas i.e. Malays. Sinhalese literature of the fifteenth century refers to Jāvakkōṭṭe on the route between Māntai and the Jaffna Lagoon. Thus, the earliest independent kingdom in North Ceylon, of which we have any definite information, was a Malay kingdom founded by Māgha and possibly also ruled for sometime by Candrabhānu.

There is also evidence that the Jaffna Peninsula, together with the territory to the south of it at least as far as Mullaivittu, was at one time known to the Sinhalese as Jāvagama, i.e. Jāvaka, no doubt due to the reason that the region was under the rule of Jāvaka princes. A *Kaḍaim-pota* (Boundary Book), which gives the territorial divisions in the three kingdoms of Ceylon, together with popular etymologies of place names and similar information, includes the following details in dealing with Pihitirāṭa. 'Moreover, in Jāvagama, there are five main districts, Javariparāṭa, Māraccirāṭa, Balatādirāṭa, Muḍuṇḍu-malliyā-rāṭa and Kanukkinirāṭa. Stone pillars have been set up with writing in Tamil letters on them for the boundaries, so that this region of ten thousand is enclosed by them. This region is adorned with tanks, lakes, pools.

82. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Śrī Vijaya, Candrabhānu and Vīra-Pāṇḍya' in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde*, LXXVII, 1937, p. 251ff. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, in this article (p. 264), has concluded that the Jāvaka prince was the ruler of a kingdom in Ceylon distinct from that of the one or the other of the two kings mentioned earlier in the record. But the inscription, it appears to me, is clear enough in stating that there were at the time only two rulers in the Island, the one (*oruvanai*) whom Jaṭavarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya slew in battle, and the other king (*enai vēndaṇai*) from whom he received elephants as tribute. As the Sinhalese king did not lose his life at this time, the Jāvaka's son, who did not at first submit to Vīra-Pāṇḍya, has to be taken as the son of the first ruler mentioned in the inscription.

ponds, fields, gardens and the like'.⁸³ 'Jāvagama' comes through Tamil from 'Jāvaka', just as Sinhalese *nāḍagama* is derived from Sanskrit *nāṭaka* through Tamil. Of the five main districts of Jāvagama, mentioned in the *Kaḍaim-pota*, one, Māracci, still goes under that name, being now divided into two, North and South Māracci, i.e. Vaḍamāracci and Tenmāracci. These are two divisions of the Jaffna District today, Māracci which, according to the *Kaḍaim-pota*, was one of the districts of Jāvagama, is today a territorial division in the Jaffna Peninsula which therefore was in the old Jāvagama. Other names given as those of districts in Jāvagama have not survived as such. But one, 'Kanukkini', in the slightly altered form of 'Kanukkēni', is the name of a village near Mullaivittu. It must have been the head-quarters of a district in olden days, but has since yielded its importance to another place. Instead of 'Javaripa' in the above extract from a printed *Kaḍaim-pota*, manuscripts give the form, 'Cavagaciri' or 'Cavagaccēri', in which we can clearly recognise the modern 'Cāvakkaccēri'. The other two names cannot be recognised in the Village List of the Northern Province, but may be in use as toponyms not important enough to find a place in official documents.

The class of literature known as *Kaḍaim-pot* in Sinhalese cannot be exactly dated, but it is agreed that the topographical information which they furnish holds good for the fourteenth century. The name 'Jāvaka' for the northern part of Ceylon, furnished by this *Kaḍaim-pota*, to be known to the Sinhalese, must have been prevalent among the Tamil people of the region which, to have acquired that name, must have been under the rule of the Jāvakas for a fairly long period. The people of the Malay Peninsula who left their home to establish a kingdom in North Ceylon have thus transplanted the name of their country into this Island, just as the Indian settlers in the Malay Peninsula gave to the kingdoms which they founded names famous in Indian literature, such as Kalinga. For the name Jāvaka to have become familiar to the Sinhalese in its Tamil form, the majority of the population of the region designated by it must have been Tamils — a conclusion also supported by the statement in the *Kaḍaim-pota* that the stone pillars set up to mark the boundaries bore inscriptions in Tamil characters. This kingdom of Jāvaka in North Ceylon must have been maintained by the Malay (Malala) soldiers who accompanied Māgha, and such South Indian troops as took service under the Jāvaka. The subjects would have been the newly settled and other Tamils and those of the original Sinhalese population who remained behind. The inscription of Vīra Pāṇḍya,

83. *Tava da Jāvagamē Javaripa-rāṭa Māracci-rāṭa Balatāḍi-rāṭa Muḍuṇḍu-malliyā-rāṭa Kanukkini-rāṭa yana mē paś maha rāṭa imāṭa gal tām Demala akṣaravalin yuktā va Dasadahas-rāṭa imāṭa koṭā pihitūwanaladdē ya. Vāv-vil-patas-pokunuket-val-āḍiyen samalamkṛta vannē ya yi data yutu. Tri-Siṁhalē kaḍaim saha vittu*, edited by A.J.W. Marambe, Kandy, Laṅkāpradīpa Press, 1926, p. 21. I am indebted to Mr. C.W. Nicholas for variant readings in unpublished manuscripts.

which speaks of the kingdom of the Jāvaka's son in Ceylon, is thus corroborated by a Sinhalese *Kaḍaimpota*.

If we accept the proposed identity of Māgha with Vicaya-kūlaṅkai, the first Āriyaṅ king of tradition, and give credence to the statement of *Yvm* that each of his twelve successors up to Caṅkili was the son of his predecessor, it would mean that all the Āriyaṅs (Ārya-cakravartis) were descendants of Māgha. We will now proceed to consider whether such a view is consistent with the information regarding the origin and family details of the Āriyaṅs furnished by literary works contemporary with them.

The *Cekarācācēkara-mālai*, a Tamil astrological work of which the date is not definitely established, but must have been written before the Āriyaṅs came under Portuguese sway,⁸⁴ has a poetical introduction which gives a mythological account of the origin of the family, and a number of verses with eulogistic references to several unnamed predecessors of the ruler under whose patronage the work was produced. The highly verbose and ornate account of the origin of the family has been summarised as follows by Father S. Gnanaprakasara. 'Rāma who, having founded the temple of Rāmēśvaram after his own name in honour of Śiva, invited 512 Pāsupatas — Brahmins of the Pañcakkirāma — to serve the temple. From among these, he chose two whom he made kings, "to bear the weight of the world", giving them the Tulasī garland with the title of "Ārya kings knowing the faultless scriptures" and the insignia of umbrella, Brahmanical thread and the bull standard'.⁸⁵ From this we gather that, in the opinion of this poet, the title Āriyaṅ was due to these rulers being descended from Brahmins who had been living at Rāmēśvaram, the shrine believed to have been built by the epic hero Rāma, and that their standard was the figure of a bull.

This belief about the origin of the Āriyaṅ family is quite at variance with the traditions recorded in the *Yvm* and the *Km*, for according to the former authority, the first king of the family was of Coḷa origin, and according to the latter, of Pāṇḍya extraction. But this claim of a Brahmin origin for the Āriyaṅ kings is in accord with a tradition recorded by the Portuguese historian Fernão de Queyroz. After giving a brief account of the conquest of Jaffna by Chamber-pera-mali, i.e. Cempakapperumāl (Prince Sapumal), and stating that 'he, they say, was the first who ruled Jafanapatao as king', de Queyroz continues, 'In course of time, there came some Bramanas, natives of Guzarate called Arus, who claimed royal descent; and with the favour of the Nayque of

Madura, they erected the pagoda of Ramancor, whence they began to have trade and friendship with the kings of Jafanapatao, and one of them married a daughter of that king; and finally her descendants became heirs to that kingdom.'⁸⁶ De Queyroz, or rather the writer from whom he copied this account, had of course been misinformed that Prince Sapumal was the first king of Jaffna, for Sinhalese historical writings and other sources prove that there were Āriyaṅ kings in Jaffna before his time. In fact, it was by forcing an Ārya-cakravarti into exile that Prince Sapumal established himself as ruler of Jaffna. The Portuguese historian has also introduced an anachronism by bringing the Nāyaks of Madhurā into the account, for they became masters of that city long after the Āriyaṅ kings had attained the zenith of their power. Perhaps to de Queyroz any ruler of Madhurā would have been a Nāyak prince, and we may justifiably substitute 'Pāṇḍyas' for 'Nayaks'. De Queyroz gives us the additional information that the Brahmins to whom the kings of Jaffna traced their origin came from Gujarāt — an important point to which we will revert in the sequel. But the main fact recorded by de Queyroz is that a Brahmin from Rāmēśvaram became the founder of the Ārya-cakravarti family by marrying into the royal family which was already exercising sovereignty when he arrived there. This royal family has been confused by later tradition with that of Prince Sapumal. But, with our knowledge that there was a kingdom ruled by a Jāvaka prince in the thirteenth century, we may conclude that the Āriyaṅ from Rāmēśvaram espoused a princess who was a descendant of that prince. It is not impossible that Prince Sapumal has been introduced into this account due to a confusion of the Tamil form of his name, *Cempaka*, with *Cāvaka* (*Jāvaka*).

Such a conclusion gains support from a document which has been utilised here for the first time in a discussion of the origin of the Ārya-cakravartis of Jaffna. I refer to the Sinhalese inscription engraved on the terrace of the Bodhi tree at Galganē Vihāra at Mādavaḷa in the Hāris Pattu of the Kandy District, dated in the third year of Vikramabāhu III, the king in whose reign an Ārya-cakravarti invaded the Sinhalese territories, and was repulsed with heavy losses by Alakeśvara. In the published references to this inscription⁸⁷ nothing is stated about its purport, apart from its being dated in the third year of Vikramabāhu III. The record is badly weathered, and from its sixth line, only a few letters are legible here and there. Some letters in the first five lines are also indistinct, but what is legible states that, in accordance with a peace treaty made on the eighth day of the waxing moon in the month of Uṇḍuvap in the third year of Vikramabāhu, a personage named

84. *Cekarācācēkara-mālai* (*Ccm*) with commentary, edited by V. Sabapati Aiyar, Jaffna, 1902. Father Gnanaprakasara assigns this work to the second half of the fifteenth century (*CALR*, Vol. V, p. 175), while Mr. S. Natesan argues for a date in the fourteenth century (*UCHC*, I, p. 696, n. 15).

85. *CALR*, V, p. 176. For a full translation, see Rasanayagam's *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 293-5. The verses are 1-5 of the *Cirappuppāyiram* (*Cp*) of the work.

86. Fernão de Queyroz, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, translated into English by Father S.G. Perera, S.J., Government Printer, Colombo, 1930 (*de Queyroz*), pp. 48-49.

87. *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report (ASCAR)* for 1911-12, p. 120, Inscription No. 181. *JCBRAS*, Vol. XXXII (No. 86), p. 276.

Marttāṇḍam-perumālun-vahanse placed certain Brahmins in charge of the *maḍigaya* of the districts of Siṅguruwāna, Balaviṭa, Mātala, Dumbara and Sagama-tunraṭa — territories under the direct rule of the Gaṁpaḷa king.⁸⁸ The *maḍigaya*, in this period, was the post at which dues to the government were collected on merchandise brought from outside.⁸⁹ The personage who appointed certain Brahmins (whose names are mostly illegible) for the collection of these dues could not have been a functionary of the Gaṁpaḷa king, for it is expressly stated that this was done in pursuance of a treaty (*sandhāna*). Now, this document refers precisely to that period during which, according to the *Rājāvalī*, the Ārya-cakravarti of Yāpāpaṭuna had stationed tax-collectors in the territories of the Gaṁpaḷa king. The name 'Marttāṇḍam' is in Tamil garb, and the title *perumālun* is Tamil. In the list of Cīṅkai Āriyaṅs given in the *Yum*, there is one named Mārttāṇṭa (Mārttāṇḍa).⁹⁰ There is therefore no doubt that we have in this inscription the only mention by his personal name of an Ārya-cakravarti of Jaffna so far met with in a contemporary inscription.

But the most significant point in this record for our present purpose, that is the investigation of the origin of the Ārya-cakravartis, is that the title of Savaḷu-pati is prefixed to the name Marttāṇḍam. *Pati*, of course, means 'lord', *Savaḷu* is no doubt the same as *Savulu*, the name of the family to which, according to Sinhalese literary and historical works, belonged the Sinhalese kings of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. The earliest king to whom this cognomen is attached is Vijayabāhu V, who was the founder of a new line of kings supplanting the Daṁbadeṇi dynasty,⁹¹ after Parākramabāhu IV, or his successor Bhuvanaikabāhu III. Parākramabāhu VI is eulogised as descended from the Savulu lineage, and Rājasiṁha I is said to have been a scion of this family. The rulers of Kandy up to Narendrasimha were also of this stock. *Savulu* has been variously interpreted by modern scholars as equivalent to Sanskrit *Śākya-kula* or as derived from the name of

a village in the Kurunāgala District.⁹² But the village itself could have derived its name from a person who bore the name, rather than *vice versa*. The Savulu family is said to be the same as the ancient Lambakanna (Lāmāni) family.⁹³ Vijayabāhu V, the first Savulu king, is referred to in a contemporary Pāli poem as a scion of the family to which belonged Parākramabāhu I. In the sixteenth century *Rājaraṭnākara*, a rather silly folktale is narrated to explain the origin of the name; this traces the family to a Maurya princess who came to Ceylon in the reign of Devānaṁpiya Tissa.⁹⁴

The word *Savaḷu* is, in my opinion, the same as Jāvaka. *Jāva* is pronounced in Tamil as *Cāva* or *Śāva*, to which *āl*, 'person', has been added on the analogy of *Malaiyāli* from *Malaya* + *āl*. A *Śāvāl* or *Śāvāli* would thus denote a person of Jāvaka race. The final vowel *u* suggests the influence of Telugu which is known to have been the language of the rulers of the Jāvaka kingdom in the Malay Peninsula. If, as we have demonstrated, Māgha came from Malayasia with a following of Malay warriors, and if he founded a kingdom in the North, the ruling class of that kingdom would have been Jāvakas or Śāvāl. And further, if an Āriyaṅ from Rāmēśvaram became master of this kingdom as the result of a matrimonial alliance, the Jāvakas or Śāvāl or Savaḷu people would have referred to this Āriyaṅ and his descendants as their lord. The epithet 'Savaḷu-pati' applied to an Ārya-cakravarti in the Mādavaḷa inscription can thus be satisfactorily explained on the hypothesis that the royal family into which the Āriyaṅ married was that of the Jāvakas.

This hypothesis also throws light on the course of history in the Sinhalese kingdom. Contemporary writers have observed a strict silence on the circumstances in which the Daṁbadeṇi dynasty fell, and a new family secured the dominion over the Sinhalese. If the Savaḷus (Savulus) were Jāvakas, and their kings most probably were descended from Māgha who is described in the chronicle as an inveterate foe of Buddhism and the Sinhalese, the members of the Saṅgha would have looked upon this change of rulers with the greatest horror. The only contemporary writer who has an eulogistic reference to the founder of the Savulu family was the pupil of a *thera* who hailed from the Malay Peninsula.⁹⁵ His description of Vijayabāhu V as belonging to the

88. The text of this inscription, so far as it can be deciphered, is given below:

1. Śrī Sirisaṅgabo Śrī Vikramabāhu
2. cakravarti-svāmin-vahanseṭa tunvanu Uduvapa pura
3. aṭa(vaka sa)ndhānayan Siṅguruwāna Balaviṭa Mātala Dumbara
4. Sagama-tunraṭa Sa(va)lu-pa(ti) Ma(r)ttāṇḍam-perumālun-vahanse
5. maḍigaya pavarā dena bamūnan Tenuvara Malamadala Nāduvalantāru

Of the other six lines, only a few letters here and there have been preserved. Of the two significant words, *sandhāna* in line 3 and *Savaḷu-pati* in line 4, some letters have not been well preserved, but what is seen of them is enough to identify them as they have been read.

89. See *University of Ceylon Review (UCR)*, Vol. XVIII, p. 12, n. 33.

90. In the reading *Marttāṇḍam*, the *repha* is not seen above the *tt*, but it has been assumed to have been there. *Mattāṇḍam* is thus a possible reading. Brito, in fact, gives the form *Mattanda*, while the more recent editions of the *Yum* have the form *Mārttāṇṭa*.

91. *UCHC*, Vol. I, pp. 636-7.

92. *JCBRAS*, Vol. XXXII (No. 86), p. 301. Sir D.B. Jayatilaka, *Sāhitya-lipi*, 1956, p. 114.

93. *Pāramisatāka*, edited by Valipatanvila Dipankara Thera, vv. 107-108.

94. The *Saddharmaratnākara* (edited by Kosgoda Nanavimala Thera, Mādame Press, 1948, p. 294) states that Parākramabāhu VI who was of the Savulu family also belonged to the Lāmāni (Lambakanna) clan. For the folk-etymology of Savulu, see *Rājaraṭnākara*, edited by P.N. Tissera, Colombo, 1929, p. 48.

95. The *thera* Dhammakitti, who was invited to Ceylon from Tambaratṭha (Ligor) by Parākramabāhu II, as stated in the *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 84, vv. 11-16. Dhammakitti Saṅgharaja, the author of the *Pāramisatāka*, appears to have been his pupil.

family of Parākramabāhu I can be justified if the former was a descendant of Māgha who was a Kalinga. The Kalinga kings of Polonnaru emphasised that Parākramabāhu I was a scion of that family. And Parākramabāhu VI is referred to in old documents as a Kalinga. The opprobrious epithets and denunciatory words used by the writers of the Daṁbadeṇi period in referring to Māgha are not found in works of the Gaṁpaḷa period, except when they quote earlier writers. In fact, the authors of the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* and the *Saddharmaratnākara*, who wrote under kings of Savuḷu lineage, absolve Māgha of the responsibility for the disasters to the Sinhalese people and the Buddhist religion which took place in the first decades of the thirteenth century.⁹⁶ They categorically state that these disasters befel them before the advent of Māgha — a conclusion at which one may arrive on a reading of the Miṇipe inscription. These writers refer to Māgha with respect under the style of Kālīṅga Vijayabāhu.

If the Savuḷu king who ousted the Daṁbadeṇi dynasty was a scion of the Jāvaka family of North Ceylon, the army with which he established his power must have contained a considerable number of Tamil soldiers. That this was in fact so is attested by the inscriptions of Bhuvanekabāhu IV at Gaḍalādeṇi and Laṅkātilaka, which refer to the Sinhalese and Tamil armies.⁹⁷ The dedications to the Laṅkātilaka temple being recorded on stone in a long Tamil inscription, side by side with the Sinhalese epigraph, also indicates that there was an important element of Tamil officers and men serving under this king who was the second ruler of the Savuḷu family. The *Nikāya-saṅgraha* states that Alakeśvara led Sinhalese as well as Tamil troops against the Ārya-cakravartī who invaded the dominions of the Gaṁpaḷa king. The struggle at the time was thus not one between the Sinhalese and the Tamils as such, but between the main line of the Jāvaka house which had migrated to Sinhalese areas, and a branch line which had secured power in the North through a matrimonial alliance.

The *Cekarācācēkara-mūlai*, the *Takṣiṇa-kailāca-purāṇam*, and the Tamil version of the *Raghuvamśa*, all refer to the king under whose patronage these works were composed as the Āriyaṇ of Kaṅkai (Gaṅga)-kula or of the Kaṅka country.⁹⁸ A number of chieftains who exercised authority under the first Āriya king are described in the *Km* as belonging to the Keṅka-kula.⁹⁹ This claim of the Āriyaṇ rulers to be of the Gaṅga lineage can be upheld if they are taken as successors of the Jāvaka kings of the Kalinga-vamśa. A ruler of Polonnaru who belonged

to the Kalinga family bore the name of Coḍa-gaṅga; one of the two queens of Niśsaṁkamalla, Kalyāṇavatī, was of the Gaṅgavamśa.¹⁰⁰ There was a Gaṅga-nagara in the Malay Peninsula.¹⁰¹ It has been suggested with a great degree of plausibility that the name Kalinga was transplanted into the Malay Peninsula by princes of the early Eastern Gaṅga family, who were forced to leave their homeland and seek fortunes overseas due to political upheavals, for example the conquest of the Indian Kalinga by Pulakeśin II.¹⁰² When these Kalingas from the Malay Peninsula founded a kingdom in North Ceylon, they must have regarded their Gaṅga connections with sentiment and pride, and the Āriyaṇs who inherited the kingdom by marriage might very well have continued these traditions.

The literary works named above refer to the Northern rulers as Ciṅkai Āriyaṇs, i.e. Āryas of Simhā. The Koṭagama inscription sings of an Āriyaṇ of Ciṅkai-nakar (Simha-nagara).¹⁰³ Their capital was thus called Simhanagara. No place of this name, or a name approximating to it, is found at present in the north of the Island. As the seat of a ruling family of consequence, it must have been a town of some magnitude, and, if the name was a popular one barely five hundred years ago, it is difficult to believe that it could have gone altogether out of use so soon after the Āriyaṇ kings left the scene of their power. As Sinhalese literature contemporary with the Ārya-cakravartī refers to their capital by the name of Yāpāpātuna, it is reasonable to presume that the name 'Ciṅkai' or 'Ciṅkai-nakar' was restricted in its use to court circles and literary men, as Gaṅgasiripura for Gaṁpaḷa, for instance, and that 'Yāpāpātuna' was the popular name. Both these names are consistent with the hypothesis that the founders of the Northern Kingdom of Ceylon were Kalingas who hailed from Jāvaka (Malay Peninsula). The kings of Polonnaru who belonged to the Kalinga dynasty, as stated in their inscriptions, came from Simhapura, which is now known as Singora.¹⁰⁴ In the charts of Cheng Ho (Wu-Pei-Chih charts), Singora is called Sun-ku-na, which is equivalent to Simha-nagara. Simhapura in the Malay Peninsula was itself named after Simhapura in Indian Kalinga. It is but natural that Māgha the Kalingan (Vicaya-kūlaṅkai), who hailed from Malayasia, would have named the capital of his new kingdom after the city which was the home of the Kalingas.

The Sinhalese name 'Yāpāpātuna' means 'the port of Yāpā'. I have suggested that *Yāpā* is of the same origin as *āpā*, equivalent to Sanskrit

96. *JCBRAS*, New Series, Vol. VII, Part I, p. 16, note 72.

97. *UCR*, Vol. XVIII, p. 37; *EZ*, IV, p. 106.

98. *Ccm. Cp.*, stanza 11, *Tkp. Cp.*, l. 24, *Irakuvammicam*, edited by C. Kanecaiyar, Kokuvil, 1932, Canto x, v. 223, and Canto xiii, v. 107.

99. *Km*, English Abstract, p. 3.

100. *Cūlavamśa*, chap. 80, v. 29; *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 118.

101. *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society (JMBRAS)*, Vol. XVII, part I, page 77.

102. *JMBRAS*, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, pp. 69 ff.

103. See note 9 above.

104. *JCBRAS*, New Series, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 26-28.

ārya-pāda.¹⁰⁵ Though this is philologically possible, it is significant that the title *Yāpā*, which seems to have been borne by royal personages of high standing, is not found in any document of the Anurādhapura or Polonnaruwa period. It seems to have come into vogue after the Malays or Jāvakas gained political influence in the Island. The word *Jāva* or *Jāvaka* is also found in the form *Yāva* or *Yāvaka*. The Chinese equivalent of *Jāva*, *Chō-po*¹⁰⁶, indicates that the *v* was at one time pronounced as *p*, i.e. *Jāpa*. The *Kulottuṅkaṇ-kōvai* in one stanza mentions Cāvakam (Jāvaka) as a country which acknowledged the supremacy of Kulottuṅga III, and in another stanza makes a similar mention of Cāpam.¹⁰⁷ It is possible that *Cāpam* and *Cāvakam* both refer to the same country, *Jāva* or *Jāvaka*. If so, the change of *v* to *p* in the name is attested in Tamil also. The change of *v* to *p* could also have developed in the course of the name being pronounced by the Sinhalese, for this phonological process is attested in that language by such words as *lapa* for Sanskrit *lava* and *saṭana* for Sanskrit *carvana*. 'Yāpāpaṭuna' would thus signify 'the port of the Jāvakas', and is akin to 'Cāvakaccēri' in sound and 'Hambantota' in meaning. The fact that, as shown above, the Jaffna Peninsula and the adjoining areas formed a territory named Jāvakam lends support to this view about the origin of *Yāpāpaṭuna*. De Queyroz gives the form *Jafana-en-patalao* and interprets it to mean 'the town of the Lord Jafana'.¹⁰⁸ This suggests a Sinhalese form *Yāpānāvan-paṭuna*. The change of *n* to *l* noticed in *patalao* is well attested in Sinhalese phonology. The modern form *Yālpānam* must also go back to this Sinhalese name; the story of the blind lutist given in the *Yvm* to explain the Tamil form of the name is of recent origin, and was not known to the Portuguese.¹⁰⁹ That it is the popular Sinhalese form of the name which has persisted indicates that, at the time of the founding of the Jāvaka kingdom, the population in and around the seat of its kings was mainly Sinhalese.

There are also literary references to a place named Maṇavai or Maṇalūr in connection with one of these Āriyaṇs. This place has been sought for in South India, to the east of Madurai; but *Maṇavai* and *Maṇalūr* might have been alternate names of Cīnkai.¹¹⁰ Cekarācācēkaṇ, the Āriyaṇ of Tamil literary fame, is praised as the Āriya king

of Kandalamai,¹¹¹ a place not yet identified. It is unlikely that the place had anything to do with the earlier Jāvaka rulers of the North.

If the Āriyaṇ rulers received their dynastic name due to a Brahmin marrying a princess of the earlier royal family of the North, and if this earlier family originated with Kālīṅga Māgha, the last-named, who is taken to be identical with Vicaya Kūḷāṅkai, could not have been in fact known as Cīnkai Āriyaṇ. The works which refer to him by that title, the *Km* and the *Yvm*, were both written when the Cīnkai Āriyaṇs had ceased to exist, at a time when, after the dynastic name had been attached to rulers of Jaffna for about three centuries, the belief had gained ground that all rulers of that kingdom bore that name.

The descent from a Brahmin of Rāmēśvaram might explain the name Āriyaṇ as applied to the ruling family of Jaffna, but there is evidence for the fact that not only the royal family, but also the nobility, or the greater part of it, over which the later Jaffna kings ruled, was entitled to the name. The *Takṣiṇa-kailāca-purāṇam* refers to Cekarācācēkaṇ as *Āriyar kōmāṇ*¹¹² and the *Carpačāstram* calls him *Āriyar kōṇ*.¹¹³ These expressions, *Āriyar kōṇ* and *Āriyar kōmāṇ*, on the analogy of such phrases as *Vattavar kōmāṇ* and *Tēvar kōṇ*, occurring in Tamil literature, indicate that among the subjects of the Āriyaṇ kings, there were also those who were known as Āriyar. The Niyamgampāya inscription, of which a copy on ola is available in the British Museum, refers in a fragmentary passage to the military prowess of Alakeśvara who rolled back the forces of an Ārya-cakravarti in the reign of Vikramabāhu. In this passage occurs the phrase *Ārya-bhaṭa-prahr̥ti*, 'attacking the Ārya soldiers'. The panegyrists of Alakeśvara therefore seem to have considered it a great feat to have vanquished the Ārya warriors of the ruler of Yāpāpaṭuna. A version of the *Rājāvalī*, differing somewhat from the printed and translated version of that text, has the following in its account of the storming of Yāpāpaṭuna by Prince Sapumal. 'Thereafter he captured, as if in nets, the Āryas who were holding out in various places, like herds of deer captured in snares, and earned thereby the *viruda* title of Ārya-veṭṭayārum-perumāl' ('the Lord who hunted the Āryas').¹¹⁴ It will thus be seen that on both occasions when the

111. *Ccm*, *Cp*, v. II.

112. *Tkp*, *Cp*, I. 15.

113. Quoted by Mudaliyar Rasanayagam in *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 358.

114. The ola manuscripts which give the fragmentary text of this inscription have the reading *Āryaḥaṭa prahr̥ti*, which gives no sense. As the Sinhalese letter *h* can hardly be distinguished from *bh*, this phrase would have resulted from an erroneous reading of the stone inscription, or from the hand of a later copyist. The version of the *Rājāvalī* referred to gives the history of Ceylon from the advent of Alakeśvara to the end of the reign of Rājasimha I. It has been named *Alakeśvara-yuddhaya* and published in instalments in the journal *Jñānādarśaya*, Vol. X, by the late Mudaliyar A.M. Gunasekara. This version of the *Rājāvalī* appears to have been known to Valentyn. The sentence translated above runs: *Ikkiti ē ē sthānayehi dāl bānda muvam gollaka men Āryayan dālvalaṭa alvāgana Āryavēṭṭayārum - perumāl kiyana virudu namakut lāba gena. Jñānādarśaya*. Vol. X, 1910-11, p. 47.

105. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 82, *Yāpā-bhaṇḍāra* occurs in an inscription of the fifteenth century, *EZ*, IV, p. 15.

106. Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires*, pp. 264-5.

107. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, 2nd Edition, p. 410.

108. De Queyroz, p. 47.

109. For a critical examination of this legend, see Father S. Gnanaprakasara in *CALR*, VI, pp. 135 ff. De Queyroz relates a story of how the Ārya-cakravarti obtained the kingdom of Jaffna from a king of Sitāvaka, flattering the latter by singing verses in his praise. See de Queyroz, p. 49.

110. *Ccm*, *Palaviṇaiṭṭaḷalam*, v. 10; *Ibid*, *Yāttiraiṭṭaḷalam*, v. 31.

Sinhalese gained military successes against the rulers of Jaffna, it was the vanquishing of the Ārya soldiers that was a matter of pride, and not victory over the Tamils. On both these occasions, Tamil soldiers fought side by side with Sinhalese and others against the Āryas, and in the case of Prince Sapumal, the discomfiture of the Āryas was celebrated by the assumption of a high-sounding Tamil title. These Ārya soldiers, it appears, formed the backbone of the army of the Ārya-cakravartis, in which of course there were Tamil fighters drawn from among their subjects and Muslim mercenaries from North India, who are referred to in the *Rājāvali* as Yon-Vaḍakkaras.

The word *Āriya* (*Ārya*) has a distinct connotation in Tamil literature. It denotes the language, literature and people of North India, as distinct from those of the Dravidian lands. Even if, as stated in the *Cekarācācēkara-mālai*, and reported by de Queyroz, the rulers of Jaffna were called Āriyaṅs due to descent from a Brahmin of Rāmēśvaram, it is not the fact of this ancestor being a Brahmin, but of his belonging to a particular class of Brahmins, namely Āriyaṅ Brahmins, that would have conferred on them the title of Āriyaṅ. For there are still at Rāmēśvaram a sect of Brahmins called Āriyappirāmaṇar, who have special rights in the temple and who claim to be immigrants from North India. The North Indian origin of the Brahmins to whom the Āriyaṅs of Jaffna traced their origin is admitted also by the *Cekarācācēkara-mālai*, for it says that they came with Rāma. A stray verse, ascribed to Pukaḷēnti, included in the anthology called *Tamiḷ-nāvalar-caritai*, seems to support the Northern origin of the Ārya kings. This stanza,¹¹⁵ which expresses the poet's grief at the death of an Ārya king, refers to him by a phrase which, in the printed text, is given as *vaḍalāriyar-kōmāṇ*. The compound *vaḍalāriyar* can only be analysed as *vaḍal* + *Āriyar*. But the first of these two words, according to the *Tamiḷ Lexicon*, means 'banyan', and gives no sense in this context. As *v* can be confused with *l* in Tamil manuscripts, the correct reading appears to be *vaḍavāriyar-kōmāṇ*, the king of the Northern Āryas. De Queyroz definitely mentions that these Brahmins of Rāmēśvaram came from Gujārāt which, together with the adjoining regions, is called Ariaka (*Āryaka*) by classical geographers.¹¹⁶ De Queyroz further states that these Ārya Brahmins claimed royal descent. This is rather puzzling, for the rigidity of the Hindu caste system of those days would not have permitted a Kṣatriya being accepted as a Brahmin. It is possible that originally there were at Rāmēśvaram and its neighbourhood Brahmins as well as Kṣatriyas who called themselves Āryas, and that, at a later date, when the Brahmins alone succeeded in preserving their separate identity, all Āriyaṅs of Rāmēśvaram known to tradition were held to

be Brahmins. The fact that the Āriyaṅ rulers of Jaffna wore the sacred thread need not necessarily prove that they were of Brahmin origin; the Kṣatriyas, too, were entitled to wearing it.

The mention, in the *Cūlavamsa*, of Ariyakkhattiya (*Ārya-kṣatriya*) warriors, referring to a time about half a century earlier than that at which the Ārya-cakravartis came on the scene of Ceylon history, enables us to ascertain who the Āryas were. When Vijayabāhu IV (1270-1272) was assassinated at the instigation of General Mitta, and when the Sinhalese soldiers acquiesced in the usurpation of this military commander, the Ārya-kṣatriya soldiers who were in the service of the Dāmbadeni king proved loyal to their master and, exhibiting great gallantry, slew the usurper and restored the throne to the rightful prince, Bhuvanāikabāhu I.¹¹⁷ The chronicle, in its narrative of this stirring episode, particularly mentions the leader of the Ārya warriors by his name, Thakuraka. H.W. Codrington has rightly pointed out that *Thakuraka* is the same as the Hindi *thākūr* (Tagore), the title of Rājput chiefs. It is also referring to this period that we have the famous story of Padmini, a princess from Ceylon, married to a Rājput king. It can therefore be taken as an established fact that Rājput warriors were in the service of Sinhalese kings in the thirteenth century, and that they were called Āryas.¹¹⁸ In one of his inscriptions, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1251 A.C.) claims to have inflicted a severe defeat on the Telugus at Mudugur, slaughtering them and their allies, the Āryas. H. Krishna Sastri, on the evidence of the mention of Āryas in the Ceylon chronicle, has suggested that these Āryas were Coḷas.¹¹⁹ But, as it has now been established beyond doubt that the Āryas of the *Cūlavamsa* were Rājputs, the Āryas who fought with the Telugus must also be similarly identified. In later writings, the Ārya families of Jaffna are associated with a place named Maḍapalli, the name of which was borne as a title by the descendants of the last king of Jaffna.¹²⁰ A place of this name is said to have existed in the dominion of the Kākatīyas, which is called the kingdom of Motupalli by Marco Polo.¹²¹ It is possible that the Āryas referred to in the inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya as the allies of the Telugus lived in this place, and later, after the conquest of the Kākatīya kingdom by the Muslims, they migrated southwards and joined forces with the Ārya-cakravartis of Rāmēśvaram, to be mentioned in the sequel, and ultimately found their way to Ceylon. It was at this time, or somewhat earlier, that the Rājput kingdoms in North India collapsed under repeated attacks by Muslim invaders, and

117. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. xc, vv. 1 ff. *Cv. Tr.*, II, p. 201.

118. *UCHC.*, I, pp. 629-30.

119. *ARE*, 1914, pp. 91-2.

120. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 388-390.

121. *The Travels of Marco Polo*, translated by R.E. Latham, Penguin Books, pp. 245-7.

115. *Tamiḷ-nāvalar-caritai*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

116. *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, translated and annotated by W.H. Schoff, London, 1912, p. 39.

bands of warriors who survived the disasters, but were not prepared to lead a dishonourable existence under the yoke of the foreigners, might very well have come southwards seeking new homes, and taken service under rulers of Indian faiths and culture who welcomed them and were ready to take advantage of, and pay for, their military prowess. If these Rājput exiles came as far as Ceylon, they might as well have sought their fortunes under the rulers of South India. And there is epigraphical evidence for the presence in the country near Rāmēśvaram of chieftains named Ārya-cakravartis about the close of the thirteenth century.

An Ārya-cakravarti is mentioned for the first time in Sinhalese historical writings as the leader of the Pāṇḍya invasion which, after the close of the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu I, succeeded in reducing the fortress of Yāpavu and capturing the Tooth Relic. The course of events which led to this invasion is not definitely known, for there is a lacuna in the *Cūlavamsa* just before its mention. But the account of this invasion in the chronicle follows the winding up of the narrative relating to the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu I.¹²² The *Daḷadāsirita* states that Ārya-cakravarti invaded Ceylon during the interregnum (*rājyāntara*) which followed the demise of Bhuvanaikabāhu.¹²³ What is meant by the expression *rājyāntara* (interregnum) is a period in which there was no king regarded as legitimate by the official historian.¹²⁴ As we know that there was at the time a Jāvaka kingdom in North Ceylon which was hostile to Daṁbadeṇi, it would be justifiable to hold that this interregnum was brought about by the ruler of that kingdom. Perhaps the end of the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu I was caused by that ruler. However this may be, it seems probable that the fortress of Yāpavu was captured and the Tooth Relic wrested by Ārya-cakravarti from the Jāvaka king. We know that Bhuvanaikabāhu I was still alive in 1283, for in that year he sent an embassy to Egypt. From Chinese sources we learn that, in 1287, Kublai Khan sent an envoy to South India in order to gain possession of the relics captured by Ārya-cakravarti, whose invasion of Ceylon therefore must have occurred between those two dates.¹²⁵ Ārya-cakravarti is described in the *Cūlavamsa* as a 'Daṁḍa general known by the name of Āriyacakkavatti, who though he was no Ārya was yet a dignitary of great power'.¹²⁶

It is about this time that Ārya-cakravartis find mention in South Indian inscriptions. The first is a record from the famous temple of Śrīraṅgam near Trichinopoly dated in the tenth year of Māravarman Kulaśekhara whose accession took place in 1268 A.C. The astronomical

details given in this record correspond to 6 December, 1277 A.C. It records a gift of land, for supplying garlands to the deity, by a dignitary who bore the title of Ārya-cakravarti, whose personal name was Matituṅkaṇ (Matituṅga) and who rejoiced in the *viruda* of *taninirruvenra perumāl*, 'the lord who stood alone and conquered'. He hailed from a place named Cakravarti-nallūr in Cevvirukkai-nāṭu which was the old name of a territorial division in the modern Ramnad taluk.¹²⁷ Two other inscriptions mentioning Ārya-cakravartis are found in the Jagannātha-svāmin temple at Tiruppullāṇi in the Ramnad taluk, a place that was in or close to the territorial division in which, according to the Śrīraṅgam inscription, was the home of the Ārya-cakravarti of that record. One of the inscriptions at Tiruppullāṇi,¹²⁸ engraved on the second *gopura* of the temple, is somewhat mutilated, but enough is preserved to ascertain that its purport was to register a verbal order (*tiru-mukam*) of an Ārya-ccakravatti with the title 'Dēvar', granting to the deity cowherds, whose names are given, belonging to his division or caste (*vakai*), together with the duties or taxes which he was entitled to receive from them. The record is dated in the 38th year of Kulaśekhara, i.e. 1306 A.C., and is thus twenty years later than the Śrīraṅgam record. The title 'Dēvar' applied to this Ārya-cakravarti, the fact that his order is called a *tirumukam*, and that there was an officer whose duty it was to write down his orders, indicate that he was a ruler; but his record being dated in the regnal years of the Pāṇḍya emperor establishes that he was a feudatory. As the personal name of this Ārya-cakravarti is not given in this inscription, it is not certain whether he was the same as the chieftain of that name referred to in the Śrīraṅgam inscription. The dates of the two inscriptions are not against such an identification, and these dates are close enough to the date of the Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon after the death of Bhuvanaikabāhu I, for the identification of the leader of that invasion with either of these Ārya-cakravartis. Another inscription at Tiruppullāṇi¹²⁹ gives the names of two other dignitaries bearing this title, viz., Teyvac-cilaiyāṇ Aḷagaṇ *alias* Ārya-ccakkaravatti and Parākrama-pāṇṭiyaṇ Ammaṇ Irāmaṇ *alias* Va...kkai Ārya-ccakkaravatti. The inscription, however, has no indication of the exact date of either of these personages.

None of these names, apart from the element *Ārya*, contains anything to indicate that those who bore them were of North Indian origin. At the same time, there is nothing in the names against such a supposition. Sanskrit names were borne by people of North India as well as by the Dravidians, and in a Tamil inscription, such names are

122. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. xc, vv. 43-47; *Cv. Tr.*, II, p. 204.

123. *UCHC*, I, p. 631.

124. For the interpretation of *rājyāntara*, see *UCHC*, I, p. 631, n. 64.

125. *UCHC*, I, pp. 632-3.

126. *Cv. Tr.*, II, p. 204.

127. *ARE*, 1937, p. 75, para 40. For the identification of Cevvirukkaināṭu, I am indebted to Shri K.S. Vaidyanathan of Coimbatore.

128. *ARE*, No. 110 of 1903. *South Indian Inscriptions (SII)*, Vol. VII, p. 209, No. 396.

129. *SII*, Vol. VIII, No. 398.

given in the orthography and inflexions peculiar to that language. If these chieftains were Rājputs, they would nevertheless have borne titles and epithets that were in vogue in the Pāṇḍya empire, as they were in its service. The *Cūlavamsa* refers to the Ārya-cakravarti as a Tamil chief, but this might not indicate anything more than that he commanded an army of a Tamil king, and came from the Tamil country. But the title Ārya-cakkavatti seems to have been considered unusual for a Tamil chief, hence the remark in the chronicle that he was so named even though he was not an Ārya. This remark in the chronicle may also be due to the fact that the Āryas of Ceylon did not consider the Ārya-cakravartis of the Pāṇḍya kingdom their peers.

It has been suggested that the Ārya-cakravarti who led the Pāṇḍya invasion which captured Yāpavu was a ruler of Jaffna, and an inference has been drawn from this suggestion that the kingdom of the Ārya-cakravartis of Jaffna had already been established by the second half of the thirteenth century.¹³⁰ But the information given in the Śrīraṅgam inscription that the Ārya-cakravarti of that record hailed from Cakravarti-nallūr in the Cevvirukkai-nāṭu, in which territorial division is the other place where inscriptions of Ārya-cakravartis have been found, is against such a supposition. But there is one detail in the inscription at Tiruppullāṇi, which establishes a connection between the Ārya-cakravarti of that record and the later Jaffna rulers of that name. After the royal order, there occurs in that record the word *Setu*, written in Grantha characters, in the manner of a benediction. In the Koṭagama inscription of an unspecified Āriyaṇ of Ciṅkai-nakar, the verse which comprises the record is prefaced by the same word written in Tamil characters (*Cētu*). The legend on the reverse of the coins of Jaffna kings is also *Cētu* in Tamil characters. In Tamil literary works contemporary with the Āriyaṇ rulers, they are styled *Cētu-kāvalaṇ* or *kāvalavaṇ*, the 'protector of *Cētu*'.¹³¹ *Setu* (*T. Cētu*), meaning 'causeway', is the name of Adam's Bridge; it is more particularly applied to the famous temple at Rāmēśvaram at one end of this Causeway. The Āriyaṇs of Jaffna and the Ārya-cakravartis who are mentioned in South Indian inscriptions seem thus to have had a particular veneration for this celebrated shrine. And the place in South India which is given in inscriptions as the home of an Ārya-cakravarti is not far from Rāmēśvaram. Considering these facts, and the tradition recorded by de Queyroz that the forbears of the rulers of Jaffna lived at Rāmēśvaram and were instrumental in building the temple there, it is reasonable to conclude that the Ārya-cakravartis, before they settled in Jaffna, were living in this part of the Pāṇḍya dominions. The inscriptions of the Ārya-cakravartis in South India record donations to Vaiṣṇava shrines, but the symbol of the Āriyaṇs of

Ciṅkai was the couchant Bull, which is Śaivaite. Even if the Ārya-cakravartis were devoted to Viṣṇu while they were in South India, they may have adopted Śaivism, if that was the faith of the majority of their subjects in Jaffna.

In 1306, an Ārya-cakravarti, as we have seen, was a feudatory ruler, under the Pāṇḍyas, of a territory in the Ramnad taluk, not far from Rāmēśvaram. The next contemporary reference to an Ārya-cakravarti is by Ibn Batūta in 1344. In that year, the Arab traveller was received by an Ārya-cakravarti who had established himself as the ruler of North Ceylon. During the thirty-eight years between these two dates, momentous events had taken place in South India. The murder of Kulaśekhara by his son Sundara Pāṇḍya in 1310, and the struggle between Sundara and his brother Vira Pāṇḍya, gave occasion for Malik Kāfūr's invasion and the intervention in the affairs of the Pāṇḍya country by the Cera king. The Muslim conquerors added extensive areas of South India to their dominions, the last representative of the Pāṇḍya power being taken a prisoner to Delhi in 1323. In 1334, a Muslim Sultante was established at Madhurā. In these fateful years, which completely upset the political order that had existed in South India for centuries, Hindu temples were desecrated, Hindu women dishonoured, and many feudatory chieftains with their soldiers must have been deprived of the regular revenues that they enjoyed, had they succeeded in surviving the calamities. Instead of submitting to the new masters, and living in penury and dishonour, bands of warriors who found no organised power to employ them and recompense them for their services, must have looked for new fields for their activities. This they would have done with greater alacrity if they had no traditions of long residence in the places where they lived. In such circumstances, what would have been more natural for the Ārya-cakravarti chiefs, and their soldiers near Rāmēśvaram, than to regard the Island across the narrow stretch of sea as the land of promise? If, as is deducible from the tradition recorded by de Queyroz, they had already established commercial and matrimonial alliances with the royal house then ruling in Jaffna, they could have expected a ready welcome in that quarter in their hour of distress. These refugees from the turmoil in South India would have added considerably to the military strength of the Jaffna kingdom of the Jāvakas, creating at the same time the necessity of securing new sources of revenue to maintain the refugees from the mainland. The rulers of Jaffna must have considered this an opportune time to renew their pressure on the territories of the Daṁbadeṇi king. Thus is explained the sudden collapse of the Daṁbadeṇi dynasty, and the end of Parākramabāhu IV, in circumstances not recorded by historians, sometime after 1326 A.C. We have seen already that the dynasty which succeeded him was known by a name indicating its origin from Jāvaka kings of the North. Such a conclusion is also supported by the confused reference in the *Kurunāgala-vistara* to uprisings of the people of Yāpapaṭuna which made Anurādhapura

130. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 344 ff. See JCBRAS, XXVIII (No. 74), pp. 91 ff.

131. *Ciṅkai-āṭiṇaṇ-Cētu-kāvalaṇ*, *Tkṇ. Cp.* 1. 23. *Cētukāvalaṇ-viñcai-viñcu Cekarācācēkaraṇ*, *Com.*, p. 40, v. 5.

desolate, and was the reason for a king named Parākramabāhu to leave that city for Kurunāgala, and later to shift from Kurunāgala to Daṁbadeṇi, and for the death of a king named Vīra Parākramabāhu due to a rebellion.

The tradition, recorded in the Mādavaḷa copper-plate of Śaka 1677, that the *bhikkhus* who were at Kurunāgala were forced to leave that place on account of the war of Bōdā-māpāṇandā, also accords with this conclusion,¹³² for *māpāṇan* appears as a title attached to the names of several dignitaries who are stated in the *Yvm* to have held high office under the first Ārya king of Jaffna.¹³³ The successors of the Kalinga kings of Polonnaru in North Ceylon were thus able to achieve their aim of extending their authority to South Ceylon, but at the expense of relegating the effective control of the North to the Ārya-cakravartis who came from Rāmēśvaram.

Having thus inquired into the probable origin of the Ārya-cakravartis and the manner in which they gained mastery over North Ceylon, we now turn to the clear light shed on the person of an Ārya-cakravarti by a traveller who has left an account of his dealings with that ruler. I refer to the famous Moorish traveller, Ibn Batūta, who, travelling from the Maldives, arrived in 1344 in the territories of the Ārya-cakravarti of that time.¹³⁴ The port at which Ibn Batūta was forced to land, and which is described as the residence of the Ārya-cakravarti, is called Battala. When the ship arrived at this harbour, the sailors were loth to land there, for they said that it was 'not in the country of the king whose territory merchants can enter with security, but in the territory of king Ayri Shakravarti, a vicious tyrant who owns ships which carry on piracy'. Ibn Batūta, however, was confident that his connection with the Sultan of Ma'bar would ensure him a friendly welcome, and went to the residence of the ruler. He had guessed rightly, and when Ibn Batūta introduced himself, Ārya-cakravarti received him with graciousness, extended hospitality to him, gave him presents and made all necessary arrangements for his undertaking a pilgrimage to Adam's Peak, one of the main purposes of his visit to this Island.

The captain of the ship in which Ibn Batūta sailed remained as Ārya-cakravarti's guest until the traveller returned from the Peak. Ārya-cakravarti is said to have understood Persian, and apparently conversed with Ibn Batūta without the help of an interpreter — a detail which might be of some significance for the probable North Indian origin of his family. At the time of Ibn Batūta's arrival, Ārya-cakravarti was examining the collections from a pearl-fishery, and the conversation naturally turned on this subject, with which he was well informed. Ārya-cakravarti was strong at sea, and Ibn Batūta has

132. *JCBRAS*, XXXII (No. 86), p. 261.

133. Brito, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

134. The account which follows is based on Mahdi Hussain's translation of *The Rehla of Ibn Batuta*, Gaekward's Oriental Series, No. CXXII, Baroda, 1953, pp. 217-8, and p. 224.

recorded that, on one occasion, he saw 'one hundred of his ships, small as well as big' which had arrived in Ma'bar. 'And in the harbour there lay at anchor eight ships of the Sultan of Ma'bar bound for Yemen. The Sultan ordered that preparations should be made and he collected troops with a view to protecting his ships. Despaired of availing themselves of an opportunity to waylay the ships, the Ceylonese said, "We come here only to protect our own ships which are also bound for Yemen". This episode indicates that the relations between the Ārya-cakravarti and the Muslim ruler at Madhurā were anything but amicable — a state of things quite understandable if, as we have argued above, the Ārya-cakravartis were forced out of their home in South India due to Muslim aggression.

Battala, the seat of the Ārya-cakravarti, is described as 'a beautiful little town surrounded by wooden walls and wooden towers'. On his way to Adam's Peak from Battala, Ibn Batūta passed through a place named Manar-Mandali, stated to be a beautiful city lying at the extremity of the king's dominion. Ibn Batūta returned through Galle and Colombo, arriving from Colombo at Battala after three days. The translators of Ibn Batūta have taken Battala to be Puttalam, and Manar-Mandali to be Mundel. But Manar is more likely to be Mannar. The two names Manar and Mandali are given by Ibn Batūta as the designations of one and the same place. The *Nikāya-saṅgraha* closes the list of Māgha's fortresses with Maṇḍalī and Maṇṇāra.¹³⁵ The association of the two names by Ibn Batūta is thus supported by a Sinhalese work of the fourteenth century. Mannar is of greater strategic importance for a fort than Mundel, and we may therefore conclude that it was this place through which Ibn Batūta passed on his way from Battala to Adam's Peak before reaching Baṇḍāra-Salāvata, i.e. Chilaw. Battala must therefore have been to the north of Mannar. The name Battala has been compared with 'Putalam' in Jafane-en-putalam, as the name of Jaffna has been given by de Queyroz, and it has been suggested that Jaffna is the place described by Ibn Batūta.¹³⁶ This is plausible,

135. *Ns. Tr.*, p. 23.

136. De Queyroz, p. 47. *Paṭṭanama* becomes *Paṭṭalama* in Sinhalese, witness *Nāga-paṭṭalama*. The form found in de Queyroz indicates that his information about Jaffna was derived from a Sinhalese source. With regard to the identity of the port at which Ibn Batūta arrived, it is important to note that, sailing from the Maldivian Islands, he saw Adam's Peak on approaching Ceylon. The intention of the ship's captain was to land at a port on the western or southern coast of the Island, in the territories of the Sinhalese king, where he was certain of a friendly reception. This he could not do due to adverse winds, and the ship was carried to Battala. The sailors of the ship must have had a view of Adam's Peak off the western or southern coast of Ceylon, and if the vessel was carried by the wind northwards off the western coast, it is doubtful whether it could have safely negotiated the narrow passages through Adam's Bridge, or the passage between Mannar and Ceylon, to arrive in Jaffna from that direction. It is also very unlikely that a vessel being carried away by a monsoon gale could have entered the Puttalam Lagoon to reach Puttalam. The possibility, therefore, is that the vessel was off the southern coast of Ceylon when the mariners sighted Adam's Peak, and was carried by the wind northwards off the eastern coast, and arrived in Jaffna or some other port in the north from that direction.

and the fact that he had to cross a river on his way from Battala to Manar-Mandali accords with such an identification. But Ibn Batūta's statement that he arrived in Battala three days after leaving Colombo appears to be inconsistent with this identification.

Ibn Batūta calls Ārya-cakravarti 'the Sultan of Ceylon.' Too much significance should not be attached to this, for Ibn Batūta has also referred to Alagakkonāra as 'emperor', while in a contemporary Sinhalese inscription he is called an *amātyottama*. It has been suggested that the Ārya-cakravarti exercised some sort of suzerainty over the southern parts of the Island as he arranged for Ibn Batūta's visit to Adam's Peak. There is, however, no force in such an argument; pilgrims from many lands came to Adam's Peak, as we are informed by Marco Polo, and the Yogis who accompanied Ibn Batūta to Adam's Peak would have been as free to go on their pilgrimage as devotees from any part of the world. The king through whose territories lay the route to Adam's Peak would not have derived any benefit by molesting peaceful pilgrims.

Sixteen years after Ibn Batūta met an Ārya-cakravarti, however, the Mādavaḷa inscription, to which reference has already been made, provides evidence to show that a Marttāṇḍam-perumāḷ, presumably an Ārya-cakravarti, was powerful enough to impose a treaty on the Gaṃpaḷa monarch, by which he appointed his tax-collectors within the territories of that kingdom. Elsewhere, we have discussed in detail the course of events in the Sinhalese kingdom which led to an Ārya-cakravarti intervening in its affairs.¹³⁷ The find at Koṭagama of an inscription of a triumphant Āriyaṇ of Ciṅkai indicates that the army of the Ārya-cakravarti was advancing against a king who resided at Dādigama, i.e. Parākramabāhu V. The Magulmahavihāra inscriptions inform us that a king named Parākrama was ruling Rohaṇa after he had vanquished Solī (Tamil) forces.¹³⁸ Parākramabāhu V was forced out of his capital and maintained himself with a semblance of authority in a restricted sphere in Rohaṇa, and Vikramabāhu III, with Alakeśvara as his Prime Minister, emerges as monarch of Gaṃpaḷa. According to the Gaṃpaḷa (Vigūlavatta) inscription, the first day of the waning moon of the month of Āśaḷa in the fourth year of Vikramabāhu III was in the Śaka year 1282. The eighth day of the waxing moon in Uṇḍuvap of the third year of that monarch — the date of the Mādavaḷa inscription — must therefore have been in Śaka 1281, the equivalent in the Christian era being

137. UCHC, Vol. I, pp. 641-5.

138. EZ, Vol. IV, p. 168. It is noteworthy that the *Rājāvalī* also states that the Ārya-cakravarti invaded the territories of the Gaṃpaḷa king with 'thousands of Tamil men from the country of Solī' (*Rv. Tr.*, p. 57). It is possible that the Ārya-cakravarti employed mercenaries from the Coromandel coast. On the other hand, it is not impossible that *Solī* in both places is due to a confusion of that name with *Savūḷu*, as the Jāvakas of North Ceylon appear to have been known to the Sinhalese.

Thursday, 28 November, 1359. On this date was ratified the treaty between Vikramabāhu III and Marttāṇḍam-perumāḷ. But Parākramabāhu V, the last two or three years of whose reign ran concurrently with the initial years of Vikramabāhu III, maintained his ground against the invader for some time after this. For the inscription of Parākramabāhu V at Hapugastāṇna, not far from Mādavaḷa, refers to the third of the waxing moon in Uṇḍuvap of the Śaka year 1281, which was a Sunday on which the *nakṣatra* was Pusa (Puṣya)¹³⁹. These details work correctly to Sunday, 8 December, 1359. Having come to an agreement with Vikramabāhu III, Marttāṇḍam would have, without much difficulty, gained a decisive victory over Parākramabāhu V, as proved by the combined evidence of the Koṭagama and Magulmahavihāra inscriptions.

A noteworthy point in the Mādavaḷa inscription is that Marttāṇḍam, the Ārya-cakravarti, is referred to as a *perumāḷ* only, while Vikramabāhu is styled *cakravartti-svāmin*. This indicates that the Ārya-cakravarti, though he was powerful enough to dictate terms to the Gaṃpaḷa monarch, had not assumed regal titles. The *de jure* right of Vikramabāhu to the sovereignty over the whole Island is recognised by the treaty. If, as we have surmised, the Savūḷu family, to which Vikramabāhu belonged, was a continuation of the Jāvaka family of North Ceylon, by a matrimonial alliance with which the Ārya-cakravarti gained the title to their authority, the ruler of Jaffna would have considered Vikramabāhu as the head of the family. In the literary works of the Gaṃpaḷa period also, the Ārya-cakravarti is nowhere called a king. *Perumāḷ*, it should be noted, is also the title by which an Ārya-cakravarti is referred to in the Śrīraṅgam inscription. It thus appears that the Ārya-cakravartis, for about two generations after they established themselves in the North, were content with the substance of power and did not hanker after its trappings. In the literature of the Kōṭṭe period, on the other hand, the Ārya-cakravarti is called a *rāja*, and in Tamil literary works of which the precise date is not known, royal epithets like *kōṇ*, *kōmāṇ* and *vēṇḍaṇ* are applied to them.

The Koṭagama and Mādavaḷa inscriptions are thus witnesses to the utmost expansion of the power of the Ārya-cakravartis of Jaffna. As I have pointed out elsewhere, it was rivalry between Gaṃpaḷa and Rayigama which paved the way to Marttāṇḍa Ārya-cakravarti's intervention, but that intervention resolved this rivalry, and Alakeśvara of Rayigama gained a dominating position at the Gaṃpaḷa court. Having gained control of affairs, Alakeśvara made preparations to end the humiliating position to which the sovereign of Gaṃpaḷa had been reduced. When he felt strong enough to resist the Ārya-cakravarti, the

139. For the inscriptions referred to, see JCBRAS, Vol. XXII (No. 65), pp. 362-3.

latter's tax-collectors were driven away.¹⁴⁰ And when the Ārya-cakravarti came with a formidable force to reassert his authority, he suffered a decisive defeat. This victory of Alakeśvara is referred to in the Niyam-gampāya inscription dated in the seventeenth year of Vikramabāhu III; thus the period during which the Ārya-cakravarti dominated the Gaṃpala kingdom was less than fourteen years. The Ārya-cakravarti appears to have attempted once again to establish his power, but without success, as indicated by the Sagama inscription and the statement in the *Saddharmaratnākara* that Alakeśvara chased out the Ārya-cakravarti time after time (*varin vara*).¹⁴¹ Not long after this, the Vijayanagara Empire secured the hegemony of South India, and the Ārya-cakravartis, reduced to the position of vassals, do not appear to have been in a position to take advantage of the internal dissensions in the Gaṃpala kingdom which followed the death of Alakeśvara. When Prince Sapumal marched against the Ārya-cakravarti about 1450, it was necessary for him to defeat a Kannāḍi (Vijayanagar) garrison at Jāvaka-kōṭṭe before he could advance to Jaffna.

Having thus passed in review the references to the Ārya-cakravartis in South India as well as in Ceylon, to which a definite date can be assigned, we take up for consideration those that are indefinite with regard to persons as well as dates. The references which have a bearing on the origin of the Ārya-cakravartis have already been noted. According to these literary references, the standard of the Ārya-cakravartis was the figure of a bull.¹⁴² The king who has received most praise from the poets is named Cekarācācēkaraṇ. According to the *Km*, the first Āriyaṇ king of Ciṅkai was known by this name which, together with that of Pararācācēkaraṇ, are taken to have been adopted alternately by the rulers of Jaffna as their throne names, in the same manner as 'Sirisāṅghabodhi' and 'Silāmeghavanṇa' were adopted by the Sinhalese kings of the later Anurādhapura period, 'Rājakeśarivarman' and 'Parakeśarivarman' by the Coḷa kings, and 'Jaṭāvarman' and 'Māvarman' by the Pāṇdyas. The Cekarācācēkaraṇ eulogised in the *Ccm*, an astrological work, is called 'Varōtayaṇ, the Āriya of Maṇavai, the king of kings', in one verse.¹⁴³ Another verse refers to the sacred thread worn on the

140. The translation of the *Rājāvali*, p. 57, has it that Alakeśvara hanged the tax-collectors of the Ārya-cakravarti, and this has been repeated in all the modern writings on the history of this period. This, however, is a brutality committed, not by Alakeśvara, but by the copyists of the *Rājāvali*, who wrote the last two letters of the Sinhalese word *elavā* (having driven away) so close together that they were mistaken by the editor of that text to have been joined together, giving rise to the reading *elvā* 'having hanged'. The version of the *Rājāvali* known as the *Alakeśvara-yuddhaya* has the reading *elavūha* (*Jñānadarśa*, Vol. X, p. 30).

141. *Saddharmaratnākara*, *op. cit.* p., 293.

142. *Ccm. Cp.*, stanza 5, *Tkp. Cp.*, l. 22; *Km.*, ll. 60-61.

143. *Maṇṇar-maṇṇu Cekarācācēkaraṇ Maṇavai-y-Āriya-Varōtayaṇ*, *Ccm.*, p. 69, v. 10.

breasts of Cekarācācēkaraṇ learned in the three kinds of Tamil.¹⁴⁴ Yet another verse associates with him a place named Kantamalai or Kantamātanam, the identity of which is not certain.¹⁴⁵ The king appears to have been a man of letters himself, and was a great patron of Tamil poets and scholars. But the literary works mentioning him give no clue to decide the date at which he flourished.

The *Ccm*, in its preface, after giving the mythological account of the origin of the Āriyaṇs, which we have quoted above, refers in a very tantalising manner to the achievements of several of the predecessors of its author's patron, Cekarācācēkaraṇ. One stanza refers to two earlier rulers in the following words: 'The king who went, fought and conquered the Karuṇātar (Canarese) at Antaravalli and the king who punished the Pōcalaṇ (Hoysala) by cutting off the trunk of his enraged elephant that came against him'.¹⁴⁶ It has been conjectured that the second reference is to the battle of Kaṇṇanūr Koppam, in which Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya defeated the Hoysala king Someśvara. From South Indian sources, a battle fought at a place named Antaravalli against the Karuṇātas is not known. Even more devoid of ascertainable facts is another eulogy which reads: 'And the king who presented 3,700 wild elephants to poets and the one who inscribed the bull flag and (the emblem) Cētu in profusion on the nine continents, and the king who gave the name of his dynasty to the north wind and the south wind and the ruler who presented elephants to the beggars'.¹⁴⁷ It is not possible that some of the rulers eulogised were the Ārya-cakravatis of South India, while others were kings of the Jāvaka house which preceded the Ārya-cakravartis on the throne of Jaffna.

Cekarācācēkaraṇ himself is praised in the *Ccm* as 'the king who on seeing the lotus-like hands of the Pāṇḍya joining together on his forehead (i.e. worshipping him) presented him with gold and a herd of elephants pouring streams of must'.¹⁴⁸ Apart from the testimony of the poet, there is no other evidence to show that a Pāṇḍya ruler humbled himself in this manner before a Jaffna potentate for no other reason than greed for wealth. Cekarācācēkaraṇ is also praised for having presented to 'the chief of Ōmantai prancing horses, heaps of treasures, a title and right to govern the country'.¹⁴⁹ Once again, we have no means of ascertaining the historical significance of this statement. A

144. *Mu-t-Tamil-tēr Cekarācācēkara maṇ-riru-mārpiṇ muṇ-nūl-eṇṇa. Ccm.*, p. 53, v. 37.

145. *Ccm. Cp.*, v. 11. *Kantamalai-y-Āriyaṇ kōṇ Cekarācācēkara-maṇ Kaṅkai-nāṭan.*

146. *Ccm. Cp.*, v. 11. The translations of this verse and the others which follow are those of Mudaliyar Rasanayagam in *Ancient Jaffna*.

147. *Ccm. Cp.*, v. 7.

148. *Ccm. Cp.*, v. 9.

149. *Ibid.*

medical work, also going under the name of *Cekarācēcēkaram*, says: 'The information as regards body, blood, bones, arteries and veins above described was, to dispel whatever little doubt that remained, obtained by repeated measurements on the bodies of the Northerners (*Vatakkar*), which the great sword of the victorious *Cekarācēcēkaraṇ* of Ciṅkai had rolled on the battlefield'.¹⁵⁰ Who these Northerners were, and where and in what circumstances were they slain in battle by *Cekarācēcēkaraṇ*, to the benefit of the medical research of those days, are questions on which no information is forthcoming. The section on serpent-lore (*carppacāstiram*) of the same medical work informs us that 'the earth is covered by the shade of the white umbrella of *Cekarācēcēkaraṇ*, the king of the Āryas, residing at Ciṅkai, who wields his sceptre so that the kings of Ceylon wearing crowns resplendant with sapphires measure their tribute in gold'.¹⁵¹ This may be based more on actuality than the statement that one of the king's predecessors inscribed the emblem of the bull in profusion on the nine continents, but that actuality need not have been anything more than the homage and the tribute paid by *Vaṇṇi* chieftains. A stray verse in the *Tamiḷ-nāvalar-caritai* eulogises Āriya-cēkaraṇ, assumed to be the same as *Cekarācēcēkaraṇ*, in the following words: 'He who made crowned heads to attend at the door of the poet and to beg for his elephant was Ciṅkai Āriya-cēkaraṇ who inscribes (his emblem) the Bull on the nine continents, on the breasts and shoulders of his enemies and on the golden Meru'.¹⁵²

This is about all that the Tamil literature of Jaffna has to tell us about the rulers who flourished when this literature was produced. The modern historian derives very little assistance from this source. Let us now turn to what the *Yvm* has to say of the successors of Vicaya-kūḷaṅkai.¹⁵³

Kulacēkara (Kulaśekhara)-Ciṅkai-Āriyaṇ, the son and successor of Vicaya-kūḷaṅkai, was of a pacific disposition and is said to have introduced salutary reforms in the administration, thereby increasing his revenue and winning the estimation of his people. This king was succeeded by his son, Kulōttuṅka (Kulottuṅga)-Ciṅkai-Āriyaṇ, whose reign, too, was a peaceful one. He, it is said, assisted his subjects in bringing waste lands under cultivation. The next king was Vikkirama-Ciṅkai-Āriyaṇ, the son of the previous ruler. In his reign, the slumbering discontent of the indigenous population flared up in a violent form. The Sinhalese, who felt that their religious liberties were interfered with

by the new settlers from South India, created a disturbance under the leadership of one Puñci-vaṇṭa (baṇḍa). As a result, two Tamils lost their lives and a few others were wounded. The Āriyaṇ inquired into the matter, executed Puñci-vaṇṭa and seventeen of his followers, and condemned a number of others to imprisonment. Many Sinhalese left Jaffna after these happenings, and those who remained behind in their traditional homeland were brooding with discontent and hatred towards the ruler for his partiality towards the Tamils. After the demise of this king, his son, Varōtaya (Varodaya)-Ciṅkai-Āriyaṇ, succeeded to the throne, and by restraining 'all classes within their proper limits', adopted a conciliatory attitude towards those who showed signs of disaffection during the previous reign. The last expression probably meant that the ruler endeavoured to curb the overbearing attitude of the new settlers.

Varōtayaṇ bequeathed a peaceful and prosperous kingdom to his son and successor, Mārttāṇṭa (Mārttāṇḍa)-Ciṅkai-Āriyaṇ. His reign was disturbed by an insurrection of his subjects, presumably the Sinhalese, who were incited by the *Vaṇṇi* chiefs. The king, however, had no difficulty in quelling the uprising. He, it is said, ruled justly and humanely, was a patron of learning and promoted agriculture. His death was mourned by both sections of his subjects, the Sinhalese as well as the Tamils. He was succeeded by his son, Kuṇapūcaṇa (Guṇabhūṣaṇa)-Ciṅkai-Āriyaṇ who followed in the footsteps of his father, lived to an extreme old age, and abdicated in favour of his son, Virōtaya (Virodaya)-Ciṅkai-Āriyaṇ.

Virōtayaṇ had his hands full in dealing with the *Vaṇṇis* who kept on inciting the Sinhalese of Jaffna into rebellion. The youthful king, however, was able to put down these risings without much difficulty, and decided to remove their cause by subduing the *Vaṇṇis*. He, accordingly, marched into the territories of the *Vaṇṇis* with a large and well-equipped army, and gained victory in a number of engagements with them. The *Vaṇṇi* chiefs, presumably, had not made any preparations to meet the invader in a concerted action. Virōtayaṇ gave the territories of the *Vaṇṇis* to rapine and plunder, and utterly broke their spirit. The fate of the *Vaṇṇis* forced his Sinhalese subjects to give up their hostile attitude to the king, who henceforward adopted a policy of reconciliation towards them.

In the reign of Virōtayaṇ, it is reported, a king of Maturai, named Cantiracēkara-pāṇṭiyaṇ (Candraśekkara Pāṇḍya) who was deprived of his throne by his enemies, fled to Jaffna, and solicited the aid of its ruler to regain his lost patrimony. Virōtayaṇ is said to have crossed over to the Pāṇḍya country, captured Maturai after many hard-fought battles, and installed his protégé on the throne. While the king was thus pre-occupied abroad, the *Vaṇṇis*, it is said, approached the king of Kandy (i.e. the Sinhalese monarch of the time) and solicited his assistance in

150. Quoted by C. Rasanayagam in his *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 292, from a medical work named *Cekarācēcēkaram*.

151. Quoted by C. Rasanayagam in *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 358, from the same medical work, as in note above.

152. *Tamiḷ-nāvalar-caritai*, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

153. The narrative which follows is based on Brito, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-33.

creating a diversion in the territories of the Jaffna king. The Sinhalese king, however, declined to intervene, and the Vanni had to appease the wrath of Virōtayan, when he returned covered with glory, by means of costly presents. But Virōtayan's enemies at home seem to have got their own back by less honourable methods, for he died suddenly while still in his youth, and it was suspected at the time that he had been poisoned, though the guilt does not seem to have been brought home to any one.

Ceyavīra (Jayavīra)-Ciṅkai-Āriyaṇ, the son of Virōtayan, was a mere stripling when he came to the throne, but he was a capable ruler, and under him the kingdom prospered exceedingly. In the year 1380 of the Śaka era, so it is said, he went to war with Puvanēkavāku (Bhuvanaikabāhu) of Kandy to settle a dispute over the pearl-fishery at Calāpatti (Salāvata, i.e. Chilaw), and emerged as victor, with the result that he raised the lyre flag over the whole of Laṅkā. At the intercession of the Pāṇḍya, however, he restored the kingdom of Kandy to Parākkirama-vāku (Parākramabāhu), who undertook to pay him an annual tribute. And Kandy is said to have been tributary to Jaffna for a number of successive reigns after that.

Ceyavīraṇ, who died after a long and glorious reign, was succeeded by his son Kuṇavīra (Guṇavīra)-Ciṅkai-Āriyaṇ, in whose reign the king of Kandy neglected to pay tribute. Kuṇavīraṇ thereupon made war upon the king of Kandy, and wrested from him some territory in which he settled Tamil colonists. He is also said to have rendered assistance of an unspecified nature to the Nāyaks of Maturai.

Kanakacūriya (Kanakasūrya)-Ciṅkai-Āriyaṇ, who succeeded his father, Kuṇavīraṇ, was forced to leave his kingdom by his Sinhalese subjects, who rose in arms against him with the help of the Vanni chieftains. He crossed over to South India with his consort and two sons of tender age. Leaving the boys at Tirikkōvalūr and making arrangements for their education there, he and his consort went on a pilgrimage to holy places as far as Kāci (Benares). The leader of the Sinhalese, Vicayavāku (Vijayabāhu) by name, occupied the vacant throne and ruled the country for seventeen years, oppressing the Tamil population. At last, being assured of a turn in the wheel of fortune by a divine apparition, Kanakacūriyaṇ returned to Jaffna with his two sons, now grown to manhood, and a powerful army. Vicayavāku was taken by surprise, but put up a stiff resistance which, however, was of no avail against the valour of Pararācacēkaraṇ, the elder son of Kankacūriyaṇ. The Sinhalese leader lost his life, and Kankacūriyaṇ, being restored to the throne, meted out retribution to those who forced him into exile. In this predicament, many Sinhalese left the Jaffna kingdom to the territories of the Kandy king; those who could not do so lived in terror of the Tamils who were now in the ascendant.

Not long after his restoration, Kankacūriyaṇ died leaving the kingdom to Pararācacēkaraṇ who was a great patron of learned men.

His brother was named Cekarācacēkaraṇ. He had a number of sons from his two consorts, and one named Caṅkili from a concubine. Caṅkili contrived to get rid of the legitimate princes and capture the throne for himself. After a long reign of tyranny, he lost his kingdom to the Portuguese.

This account, summarised from the *Yvm*, sounds impressive, and may pass muster as history, if there is no such thing as chronology and if the history of the lands neighbouring Jaffna were altogether unknown. The metamorphosis of Śrīsaṅghabodhi Bhuvanaikabāhu to a Brahmin minister of the first Āriyaṇ king, and the date assigned to him being six centuries earlier than the time in which he lived, have already been noted. This clear case of confusion makes one doubt whether the succession of kings took place in the order given in the *Yvm*, or whether they were in fact related to each other in the manner stated therein. The building of the Nallūr temple in the reign of the first king of Ciṅkai is said to have taken place in Śaka 870 (948 A.C.), but an event which is said to have taken place in the reign of that king's eighth successor, namely the war over the pearl-fishery, is assigned to Śaka 1380 (1458 A.C.) more than five hundred years later. Kanakacūriyaṇ, who according to the *Yvm* was forced to flight, has reasonably been identified with the Ārya-cakravarti who was defeated by Prince Sapumal and fled abroad. Prince Sapumal conquered Jaffna in 1450 or the previous year, but Kanakacūriyaṇ, according to the *Yvm*, was the grandson of a king who reigned for a considerable number of years after 1458. And Caṅkili, who was dispossessed by the Portuguese in 1618, is represented as a grandson of Kanakacūriyaṇ. In this state of confusion in the source, modern writers have not hesitated to shift some of the rulers from the positions given to them by the eighteenth century Pulavar, to credit certain kings with achievements which the *Yvm* has recorded to have been of others, and to assign dates in accordance with what they take the course of history would have been.

To take an example, in spite of the mention of Kandy as the capital of Bhuvanaikabāhu with whom Ceyavīraṇ is said to have gone to war, and the date Śaka 1380 (1458 A.C.) given in the *Yvm* for the victorious termination of that war, certain writers would identify this Bhuvanaikabāhu as the first Sinhalese king of that name, whose capital was at Yāpavu and whose reign terminated in 1284.¹⁵⁴ But such an attempt to introduce order into the confusion left to us by the old Pulavar would create serious difficulties in other directions. According to the *Yvm*, Kanakacūriyaṇ was the grandson of Ceyavīraṇ, and if we credit the latter with a victory over Bhuvanaikabāhu I in or about 1284, over one hundred and fifty years elapsed between him and his grandson whose flight took place in or about 1450.

154. See note 120 above.

The references in the *Yvm* to relations of the Āriyaṅ kings of Cīṅkai with South Indian potentates cannot also be reconciled with what is known of the history of the region. No Pāṇḍya king named Cantiracēkeraṅ (Candraśekhara) is known, either from literature or from epigraphy, to have flourished between the ninth century and the sixteenth. And Virotayaṅ is said to have had, as his ally, a Setupati ruler, who belonged to a family that emerged into prominence in the seventeenth century, after the Āriyaṅ themselves had ceased to rule in North Ceylon. The Nāyaks of Madhurā, whom Kuṇaviraṅ is said to have befriended, came on the scene of history much later than the date that should be ascribed to him if his successor, Kanakacūriyaṅ, be taken as the ruler who was forced into exile by Prince Sapumal. Attempts have been made to solve these chronological and other difficulties by arbitrarily shifting the places given to various kings in the order of succession by the *Yvm*, and by the substitution of other names for those which do not square with established facts. For instance, it is proposed to read Sundara Pāṇḍya in place of Cantiracēkeraṅ, and to credit Varōtayaṅ with the exploits which the *Yvm* has recorded of Virotayaṅ.¹⁵⁵ But these shiftings of positions and alterations of names, effected without any support from documentary or monumental evidence, can only be considered as individual expressions of undisciplined opinion, and not as established historical facts.

Of the names of rulers given in the *Yvm*, there is only one that appears to be attested by contemporary Tamil literature. The *Ccm* refers to Cekarācēkeraṅ as Varōtayaṅ also;¹⁵⁶ but this in itself is of no help in deciding the date of that king. The only instance of a certain date for a ruler named in the *Yvm* is furnished by the Mādavaḷa inscription, from which we learn that Marttāṇḍam imposed a treaty on the Gaṁpaḷa ruler in 1359 A.C. The *Yvm*, however, does not give credit to Mārttāṇḍa-cīṅkai-āriyaṅ for any victories over the Sinhalese. His military exploits, in that source, are limited to the quelling of an insurrection among his subjects fomented by the Vaṇṇi chieftains. According to the *Yvm*, this Mārttāṇḍaṅ was the son of Varōtayaṅ, i.e. Cekarācēkeraṅ of Tamil literature. If we can rely on the *Yvm* for this relationship, the *Cekarācēkera-malai* and a number of other works composed in the reign of Varōtayaṅ can be assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century.

The only event pertaining to the relations of the Jaffna rulers with Sinhalese kings mentioned by the *Yvm*, with names of personages and other details capable of verification, is the war said to have been waged by Ceyavīra-Cīṅkai-Āriyaṅ over the pearl-fishery. In this account, a king named Bhuvanaikabāhu who was succeeded by a Parākramabāhu is mentioned. Disregarding the anachronism in the date, and the erroneous reference to these kings as rulers of Kandy, there are five

Bhuvanaikabāhus — the first, the second, the fourth, the fifth and the sixth of that name — whose successors were Parākramabāhus. With regard to Bhuvanaikabāhu VI, that king was himself the ruler of Jaffna, and if the Ārya-cakravartī was restored during his reign, it is doubtful whether the latter, so soon after his return from exile, was in a position to undertake an invasion of the Sinhalese dominions. There is no evidence in Sinhalese sources for such a war in the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu V, sufficiently close in time for his successor, Parākramabāhu VI, to be involved. If the Nāranbādda inscription¹⁵⁷ is that of Parākramabāhu IV, there seems to have been an invasion by the Tamils, probably the forces of the king of Jaffna, of the Māyā country, but during the reign of his predecessor, the evidence for such a war is lacking. In the time of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV and Parākramabāhu V, who for the greater parts of their reigns, were contemporaries, such a war might have been possible. For it is just after the end of Parākramabāhu V's reign that we find Marttāṇḍam-perumāḷ stationing his tax-collectors in the territories of the Gaṁpaḷa king. But the intervention of the Pāṇḍya king was not possible in this period, for that empire had collapsed several decades before this time, and other powers had arisen in what were once their dominions.

Pāṇḍya intervention would have been possible in the reigns of Bhuvanaikabāhu II and Parākramabāhu IV, but there is no evidence for that either in Sinhalese sources or Pāṇḍya inscriptions. On the other hand, the Sinhalese chronicle refers to a Pāṇḍya intervention which was followed by the accession of Parākramabāhu III, sometime after the demise of Bhuvanaikabāhu I. This Pāṇḍya intervention took place as a military expedition led by an Ārya-cakravartī who, as we have pointed out before, was not a ruler of Jaffna, but a South Indian feudatory of the Pāṇḍya emperor. According to the Sinhalese sources, this expedition of Ārya-cakravartī took place during a time when there was no rightful king ruling in Ceylon. As we have already surmised, this interregnum was probably caused by a successful invasion of the Sinhalese kingdom by the ruler of North Ceylon, who at that time was not an Ārya-cakravartī, but a Jāvaka, the son of Māgha or of Candrabhānu. The account of the embassy sent to Egypt by Bhuvanaikabāhu I indicates that he considered the pearl-banks as coming within his territories.¹⁵⁸ And it is quite likely that the Northern ruler contested this position, and that in the warfare which ensued, Bhuvanaikabāhu I himself lost his life.

There is also one significant detail in the *Yvm* account of this war which points to the conclusion that it was not an Ārya-cakravartī who defeated the Sinhalese king on this occasion. The *Yvm* boasts that as the result of this war, the flag of Yālpāṇam, Gemini holding the lyre (*mituna-yāḷakkoṭi*) waved over the whole of Laṅkā. It is well known that

155. UCHC, I, pp. 695-6.

156. *Ccm.*, *Palaviṇaiḥpaṭalam*, op. cit., p. 69, v. 10.

157. UCHC, I, p. 634, note 74.

158. JCBRAS, Vol. XXVIII (No. 72), pp. 83-4.

the symbol on the flag or the banner of the Āriyaṇs of Ciṅkai was not a lyre, but a bull. Literature contemporary with the Āriyaṇs refers to the bull-banner of these rulers in numerous places¹⁵⁹, and the author of the *Yvm*, the scholar that he was, must have been conversant with these passages. He must, therefore, have mentioned the lyre-banner as the source on which he based his account gave this information. Now, an inscription of the second year of Kulottuṅga III, corresponding to 1180 A.C. — a date falling within the reign of Parākramabāhu I — refers to *vīṇaikkoti-Ciṅkalar*, 'the Sinhalese whose flag is the lyre'.¹⁶⁰ This inscription also refers to other peoples mentioning their distinctive banners, and with regard to them the information is accurate. We may therefore take it as a fact that, in the reign of Parākramabāhu I, the banner or the flag of the Sinhalese bore the representation of the lyre. The Kalinga kings of Polonnaru claimed in their inscriptions to be the legitimate successors of Parākramabāhu I, and it has been conclusively established that these Kalingas were really Jāvakas. After Māgha the Kalinga, i.e. the Jāvaka, was dislodged from Polonnaru, he and his successors established themselves in North Ceylon, from where they made every effort to extend their power to the South held by a house which depended on Pāṇḍya support. This Northern kingdom of Jāvaka must have continued to use the royal insignia of the Polonnaru kings, which included the lyre-flag. Thus, this detail furnished by Mayilvākana-pulavar supports the conclusion arrived at from other evidence that the war over the pearl-fishery, which is said to have taken place in the reign of an Āriyaṇ named Ceyavīraṇ, was really fought by a Jāvaka king, most probably Sendemain or Sendernam of Marco Polo.

There is a tradition that the principal shrines at Rāmēśvaram were 'built in Śaka 1336 (1414 A.C.), by Uḍaiyar Setupati, with the aid of a Ceylon prince styled Pararājaśekhara, the latter having had the stones hewn at Tirikkōṇamalai, and numbered on the spot, ready to be put together. This is said to be supported by the architectural style of the buildings themselves, and by the inscriptions on the base of the shrines'.¹⁶¹ 'Pararājaśekhara', as stated above, was one of the throne names of the Jaffna rulers. But there is no reference in this tradition to the personal name of a ruler of Jaffna, and the *Yvm* does not mention this meritorious act in connection with any of the kings named therein. The association of a Setupati with Pararājaśekhara is an anachronism in the tradition. The inscriptions referred to have not come to light; it is said that they were destroyed or removed during the suit between the priests and the Raja of Ramnad about 1866.¹⁶²

159. See above, note 132.

160. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 645 (p. 269).

161. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 315.

162. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 366.

Among the references to Ceylon in the inscriptions of Vijayanagara emperors and their military commanders and feudatories,¹⁶³ there is no direct mention of Jaffna or its rulers until we come to 1435 A.C. The claim of Virūpākṣa (1385 A.C.) that he weighed himself against gold at Rāmēśvaram¹⁶⁴ indicates that the rulers of Jaffna must have felt the power of the Vijayanagara empire towards the close of the fourteenth century. The title of Sētukāvalaṇ borne by the Ārya-cakravartis need not imply any control of Rāmēśvaram by them during this period; it might have been inherited from the earlier Ārya-cakravartis of South India, of whom it was a reality. The title of 'Lord of the Eastern, Western and Southern Seas' assumed by Harihara II (1337 — 1404)¹⁶⁵ probably indicates that the Vijayanagara empire had by this time checked the piratical activities and the naval power of the Ārya-cakravartis, but it was necessary for the imperial general in Madhurā, Lakkanna-daṇḍanāyaka, to undertake, sometime before 1435, a campaign to destroy Iyālpāṇam (Jaffna).¹⁶⁶ His title of Dakṣiṇasa-mudrādhipati (Lord of the Southern Ocean) is evidence that he was successful in this campaign, and that the naval power of the Ārya-cakravartis was terminated, they themselves being brought to a state of vassalage. The inscription of Śaka 1357 (1435 A.C.), which mentions this achievement of Lakkanna-daṇḍanāyaka, contains the first direct mention of the kingdom of Jaffna in a Vijayanagara document, and the first reference to it by the name, Yālpāṇam, by which it is called today by the Tamils.¹⁶⁷

The Pāṇḍya ruler Arikeśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya (1422-1461) in some of his inscriptions which are assignable to 1449/50 and 1453/54, claims victories gained at Ciṅkai and Anurai.¹⁶⁸ Of these two places, the first was the capital of the Ārya-cakravartis, and the second is Anurādhapura. These refer to a time when Jaffna had been captured by Prince Sapumal and, if Parākrama Pāṇḍya's claims are based on facts, there appears to have been fighting between his forces and those of Prince Sapumal. As Prince Sapumal continued to be in occupation of Jaffna for over two decades from its conquest in or about 1450, the victories of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, if he actually gained them, do not

163. *UCHC*, I, pp. 686 ff.

164. *Epigraphia India*, Vol. XI, pp. 300 f.

165. *Ibid.*, III, p. 125.

166. *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 778.

167. Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam (*Ancient Jaffna*, p. 248) has given a stanza containing the name Yālpāṇāyaṇ-pattinam, as found in the *Tiruppukal* of Arunakiri-nātar, without referring to chapter or page of the printed text. I have not been able to find this particular verse in any edition of the *Tiruppukal*. Even if the stanza in question is of Arunakiri-nātar, the reference is not earlier than the inscription, for this poet cannot have flourished before the middle of the fifteenth century.

168. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. VI, No. 11, pp. 89-91.

appear to have had any lasting results. It has been suggested that Mānabhūṣaṇa, who was conquered by Narasa Nāyaka in the reign of Immaḍi Narasiṃha (1491-1505), was a ruler of Jaffna.¹⁶⁹ The reason given for this assumption is that 'Mānābharaṇa' was a title taken by the rulers of Jaffna too, and that possibly they bore the title of Mānabhūṣaṇa, also. But there is no evidence whatever that the Jaffna rulers ever fancied the title of 'Mānābharaṇa' or 'Mānabhūṣaṇa'. And the reference to Mānabhūṣaṇa in the *Nārāyaṇīvilāsam* does not suggest that he was a personage different from the Pāṇḍya.

According to the *Yvm*, it was during the reign of Caṅkili, a grandson of Kanakacūriyaṇ, who regained his throne in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, that the Portuguese made themselves masters of Jaffna. It has been pointed out that the *Yvm* has confused this Caṅkili, referred to by the Portuguese writers as Xaga Raja Pāṇḍar, with Caṅkili-kumāraṇ who lived much later.¹⁷⁰ If the *Yvm* is thus unreliable even for times reasonably close to the author, it is doubly unreliable for earlier periods. From this time, light is thrown on the course of events in the Northern Kingdom by the writings of Portuguese historians. These references have been adequately studied by competent scholars, and it is outside the purpose of this paper to investigate them.

¹⁶⁹. UCHC, Vol. I, pp. 689-90.

¹⁷⁰. *Ibid*, p. 701.

Additions and Amendments to the Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon

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By C.W. NICHOLAS

Page 7: the Dravidians in South India. Sir Mortimer Wheeler (in 'Ancient India and Pakistan', 1960, pages 130, 153, 161, 163, 164, 167 and 169) dates the South Indian megaliths, the characteristic monumental remains of the early period of Dravidian civilisation in that region, to the 3rd century B.C. at the earliest, and the early ironwork of South India to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. He also states that the use of iron began to spread across northern India from Persian sources at the end of the 6th century B.C., and that rice cultivation was practised in the upper Ganges and middle Narbada valleys many centuries before the 3rd century B.C. These postulations indicate that the Dravidian occupation of South India followed the Indo-Aryan colonisation of Ceylon, and that the Indo-Aryan colonists were already acquainted with the use of iron and the cultivation of rice when they arrived in Ceylon.

Page 9: Pliny's account of the Sinhalese Embassy to Rome. Pliny assigns to the reign of Claudius the fortuitous landfall at a port in Ceylon of the freedman of Annus Plocamus, and the subsequent return of the freedman to Rome accompanied by envoys sent by the Sinhalese king. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, relying on an inscription recently discovered in the eastern desert of Egypt mentioning Annus Plocamus and dated July 5, A.C. 6, in the 35th year of an Emperor who could be no other than Augustus Caesar, proposed that the events described by Pliny should be put back to the reign of Augustus. Professor Paranavitana now adduces further support for Wheeler's hypothesis in p. 630, vv. 14 to 16, of the *Vamsatthappakāsinī* (the *Tikā* or Commentary to the *Mahāvamsa*), which states that king Bhātikabhaya of Ceylon (B.C. 22-A.C. 7, contemporary with Augustus) sent to Romanukkarattha (the country of the Romans) and obtained coral, a well-known product of the Mediterranean, with which he had a net ornament made for the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura.¹ (The *Tikā* was compiled in the 11th century, some 800 years after contacts between ancient Rome and Ceylon had ceased to exist: the author of the *Tikā* must, therefore, have derived his information from an early text which was extant in the 11th century).

¹. U.H.C. (*University History of Ceylon*), Vol. I, 2251

Page 9: *Hippalos' discovery of the Monsoons*. Warmington² places Hippalos in 1st B.C. and the general use of his discovery of the monsoon winds to sail direct to India to about A.C. 40. W.W. Tarn, Hourani and others date Hippalos' discovery to B.C. 80 or 90 at the latest. Wheeler³ says that direct sailings with the monsoon winds were in full use towards the end of the reign of Augustus (A.C. 14): this implies that limited use must have commenced many years earlier. Warmington's dates must be put back half a century or more to bring them into accord with those of more modern scholars.

Page 29: *Mālavatthu-maṇḍala*. In Malvatumāḍulla district was the village Uturu-Karaviṭa.⁴

Page 53: *Cūḷaṅgaṇiyapitthi*. The ruined dāgāba at *Yudaṅganāva* is most probably the monument erected by Parākramabāhu I on the spot where his mother, Ratnāvalī, was cremated.⁵

Pages 28 and 57: *Arittārā-vehera and Ariyākari Vihāra*. Ariyākari Vihāra is also called Arikāri and Āryyakara, and near Āryyakara Vihāra was the hill Kumbalatissapabbata or Kumbul-tis-pav. Ariyakōṭi Vihāra is mentioned in one of the Commentaries. It is probable that the names Ariyākari, Ariyakōṭi and Arittārā are synonymous.⁶

Page 71: *Vāligama*. In the reign of queen Kalyāṇavatī, the general Ayasmanta founded the Rājakulavaḍḍhana-vihāra at *Vāligama*.⁷

Page 76: *Mahātīttha*. The King's officers at Mahātīttha are called Mahapuṭu-laddan in the 9th century *Mannār* inscription.⁸

The *Tēvāram* (Tamil Śaiva) hymns of about the 7th century refer to only two Śaiva shrines which then existed in Ceylon, at Māntōṭṭam (Mahātīttha) and Tirukkoṇamalai (*Trincomalee*).⁹

Page 95: *Salagalkandura*. Salagal-kandura or Salgal-kandura is also called Salagam-kaṇḍavura in some texts, and the latter seems to be preferable.¹⁰

Page 105: *Dambadeṇiya*. The Dambadeṇiya-asna calls Vijayabāhu III, Kāliṅga Vijayabāhu of Nanbanbarā. His son, Parākramabāhu II, was born at Nāmbanbarā. The inscription of Parākramabāhu II at

Devundara states that the king was of the lineage of Somarāja of Nembara. These three place-names stand for the same place: it was close to *Dambadeṇiya* and is identical with Sirivaḍḍhana of the *Cūḷavaṃsa*.¹¹

Page 115: *Bambaragala (Teldeniya)*. The *Bambaragala* inscriptions mention the places named Kalata and Citanagara in addition to Kola-gama.

Page 116: *Sindhūravāna*. Sindhūravāna is Laṅkātilaka.¹²

Page 116: *Ambagamuva*. In Nissanka Malla's inscription at *Bhagavāleṇa* on *Adam's Peak*, he records that the village of Ambagamu, originally granted to the *Peak* by Vijayabāhu but confiscated by later kings, was re-granted by him.¹³

Page 117: *Kandy District*. The frescoes at *Hindagala-vihāra*, on the *Pēraḍeṇiya-Galahā* road, belong to about the same period as the Sigiri frescoes. An inscription of the 7th century at this temple records a joint grant for the purpose of building a Bodhi-Tree shrine by a Minister who was 'Warden' (*araka-tana-lada*) of Paṭasala-abala (classical Sinh. *paḷa-gala-abala*) and by a resident of Karamudu.¹⁴

Page 120: *Hatthavanagalla*. The belief that the Vaṭadāgē at *Attanagalla* marks the place of king Sirisaṃgabodhi's cremation is of comparatively recent origin. The *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, compiled in the 11th century and based on early sources, states that the Vihāra built on the site of Sirisaṃgabodhi's cremation was to the south of Issarasamaṇa Vihāra (modern *Vessagiriya*) at Anurādhapura.¹⁵

Page 121: *Colombo*. A Kufic inscription dated 929/30 was discovered in the Muslim cemetery of *Colombo*.¹⁶

Page 125: *Adam's Peak*. The *Bālarāmāyana* and *Anagharāghava*, two Sanskrit dramas of about the 9th century, refer to a shrine of Agastya on or near the Rohaṇa mountain (*Adam's Peak*).

By the 9th century, Muslims had come to believe that Samanoḷa-kanda bore the footprint of Adam, and the mountain attracted pilgrims of that faith.

At Paḷābatgala, near *Adam's Peak*, Parākramabāhu II established a hermitage for forest-dwelling monks.¹⁷

11. U.H.C. 614, 615

12. U.H.C. 590

13. U.H.C. 575

14. U.H.C. 408; U.C.R. XVI, 3

15. M.T. 671

16. U.H.C. 387

17. U.H.C. 386, 387, 530

2. E.H. Warmington. *The Commerce between Rome and India*, 48.

3. Sir M. Wheeler. *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, Caps. 10 and 11.

4. Thv. 133

5. U.H.C. 595

6. E.H.B. 121 : M 45.60 : U.C.R. 1, 62 : Rv. 270

7. U.H.C. 571

8. U.H.C. 363

9. U.H.C. 386

10. U.H.C. 617, note 22

Page 127: *Anurādhapura*. The Tamil conquerors, Sena and Guttaka of the early 2nd century B.C. are said to have diverted the course of the Kadamba-nadi (*Malvatu Oya*) to run by the side of Anurādhapura.

In the 9th and 10th centuries, the administration of the capital city was entrusted to an officer called the Nuvara-laddā, corresponding to the Nagara-guttika of the early period, and he was held responsible for any misdemeanour which was committed in his jurisdiction.¹⁸

Page 138: *Ganthākara Pariveṇa*. The *Samantapāsādikā* was written by Buddhaghosa while he was residing in an edifice to the south of the Bodhi Tree: it was built by the Lord of Mahānigama ('the great market-town'). Presumably, this building was known as the Ganthākara Pariveṇa.¹⁹

Page 141: *Abhayagiri Vihāra entourage*. Three princes, discovered in a plot to murder king Khallāṇāga (B.C. 110-103), immolated themselves in the flames of a funeral pyre at the sanctuary of the Jain ascetic, Giri. At the place where this tragedy occurred, a thūpa named Aggipavisaka ('entering the fire') was built.²⁰

Page 156: *Pirivatu*. According to the *Daladā-Pūjāvaliya*, the recovery of the Tooth Relic from Queen Sugala was effected in the 4th year (1157) of Parākramabāhu I by a dignitary named Pirivatu-guṇa-Mahalāna.²¹

Page 166: *Kālavāpi Vihāra*. Upasena, the author of a Commentary on the *Anāgatavaṃsa*, according to a Burmese source, compiled his work while residing at Kālavāpi-vihāra in a dwelling founded by Dhātusena (455-473). Kālasela of the *Cūlavamsa* (45. 43-44), is the equivalent of Sinh. Kalāgala, the old name of *Avukana* occurring in documents of the Kandyan period.²²

Page 176: *Dīppūyana* or 'Promontory'. Professor Paranavitana's opinion is that the buildings on the Promontory were the Palace of Nissanka Malla and its appurtenant structures. These buildings were not laid out on a coherent plan. The so-called *Mausoleum* was probably a representation of the Cosmic mountain. The bath was a poor and improvised specimen compared with that below Parākramabāhu's Palace.²³

18. U.H.C. 144, 372
19. U.H.C. 390
20. U.H.C. 165 : M.T. 612
21. U.H.C. 573
22. U.H.C. 391, 405
23. U.H.C. 601-3

Page 177: *The Citadel or Royal Enclosure*. Gajabāhu II sat with his Council of Ministers in the pavilion named Citrakūṭa when issuing decrees and giving decisions on legal questions.²⁴

Page 178: *Latā-maṇḍapaya*. According to the N.S., the ecclesiastical Court held in the reign of Parākramabāhu I to purify the Saṅgha assembled at the Latā-maṇḍapaya in Polonnaruva.²⁵

Page 178: *Siva Dēvālē* No. 2. This shrine carries an inscription of Rājendra Cōla naming it after a queen of Rājaraja I.²⁶

Page 179: *Kiri-vehera*. The *Kiri-vehera* is the largest monument in the Alāhana Pariveṇa and is either the Subhaddā-cetiya or the Rupa-vatī-cetiya.²⁷

Page 179: *Galvihāra*. Professor Paranavitana's views in the controversy whether the well-known standing Image at the *Galvihāra* represents the Buddha or Ānanda are as follows:—'The Vijjādhara-guhā is the excavated cave containing the smaller sedent Image. The Nisinnapaṭima-leṇa was the shrine for the seated Buddha, and the Nipanna-paṭima-guhā that for the recumbent Image. No shrine for the standing Image is mentioned in the Chronicle, which may be due to the reason that this Image was not a work of Parākramabāhu I but was already existing at the time. The unusual attitude of the hands in the standing Buddha is known from two other local examples, a rather battered figure at *Yatāla-dāgāba* in *Tissamahārāma*, and a colossal Image, said to be of wood but now covered with plaster and paint, in the largest cave at *Dambulla-vihāra*. It is evident that the purpose of the sculptor was to represent the Buddha as *para-dukkha-dukkhita*, 'He who is sorrowing for the sorrow of others'. The indubitable fact that this Image was originally inside a separate shrine disposes of the theory that it represents Ānanda sorrowing at the passing away of the Buddha. The treatment of the hair in ringlets, appropriate only for a Buddha Image, and the lotus pedestal, conclusively establish that the Image is not of Ānanda but of the Buddha. At the *parinirvāṇa* of the Master, Ānanda was not yet an Arhant'.²⁸

Page 194: *Selantara-samūha*. The Mahāthera of Selantara-samūha represented the monks of Rohana at the Convocation of the Saṅgha held at Polonnaruva in the reign of Parākramabāhu I to cleanse the

24. U.H.C. 538
25. U.H.C. 568
26. U.H.C. 590
27. U.H.C. 593
28. U.H.C. 604-5

Order. Selantara-samūha would be the well-known Galaturu-mūla in Sinhalese.²⁹

Page 197: *Unlocated places*. The author of the *Sidat-saṅgarā* of the 12th or 13th century was the incumbent of Patirāja-pariveṇa.³⁰

Pages 139, 104, 177 and 67: *Palaces*. 'Substantial remains of six royal residences belonging to the 11th and 12th centuries exist at four different sites in Ceylon. The earliest in date is the royal residence of the latest phase of the city of Anurādhapura, most probably built by Vijaya-bāhu I after he liberated the Island from Cōla rule: it is off the *Green Path* within the ancient Citadel. Next in date is the palace at *Paṇḍuvas-nuvara*, the residence of Parākramabāhu when he was ruler of Dakkhinadesa. At Polonnaruva there are three Palaces:— (1) that of Parākramabāhu I, (2) another and smaller one of Parākramabāhu on an island in Parākrama-samudra, now known as *Sītala-māligāva*, and (3) Nissanka Malla's Palace comprising all the ruins on the present *Promontory*. The fourth site is at *Galabādda*, ancient Udumbara, near *Monerūgala*, where also are to be found the remains of a royal residence'.³¹

Suggested Origin of the Chatra

By D.T. DEVENDRA

The *chatra* is a favourite emblem in the Buddhist and Hindu art of India as well as of what is sometimes described as Greater India. Monier-Williams in the *Sanskrit Dictionary* renders it in English both as 'parasol' and 'umbrella', whilst Rhys Davids and Stede, in their *Pali Dictionary*, prefer 'sunshade' and think that, "parasol" would be misleading'. In our article the renderings are indiscriminately used for the reason that they do no violence to the meaning in which we employ any particular one.

The *chatra* in Ceylon iconography is found in peculiar positions. In Anurādhapura and Mihintalē, for instance in the steles or on the pavement slabs of the great thūpas, we have them used variously, with animals, nāgas, śrī pādas, and so forth. The finest is found in the 12th century Cave Buddha in Gal Vihāra, Polonnaruva.

But in the earliest known times, the *chatra* was not used with such freedom and it is meet to look for the beginnings of its use as far as it affected the greater Indian iconography. In the opening chapter of his 'Story of the Stupa' A.H. Longhurst has been particularly informative on the *chatra* in Egypt, Greece and several Asian countries commencing with Mesopotamian times. But precisely *why* the parasol has been used for royalty and other exalted personages is not made clear.

Sometimes the function of the *chatra* was literally that of a sunshade; that is to say, to ward off the rays of the sun from the body regarded as divine or a sacred object. But in remote civilizations the sun was the *fons et origo* of divinity. To be associated with it, rather than to ward off its rays, is what should be expected. Thus if the use of the sunshade is interpreted as conditioned by avoidance, then it stands to reason that such an interpretation should apply to later times, not to the earliest times when the *chatra* appears on the cultural scene.

In ancient Greece, during the Athenian festival called Scira, the priestess of Athena as well as the priests of Poseidon and of the Sun walked from the Acropolis under a great white umbrella.¹ Here the use of the shade was probably for protection; but as the priest of the Sun, too, used it there may have been another reason. This reason may be understood from our discussion. More clearly evident, however, is why the Mikado and the High Priest of the Zapotecs of Mexico used the

29. U.H.C. 431, note 11: 567

30. U.H.C. 584

31. U.H.C. 600-1.

1. J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*—Vol. X ('Balder the Beautiful', i), p. 20 ft. nt. 1.

umbrella; they were not permitted to expose themselves to the Sun.² Whether due to traditional memories which recall the vanished times of Egypt, or to the later Greco-Roman influences, the umbrella was being used in certain parts of Africa as a symbol of honour. In Madagascar it formed one of the regalia.³ In their public processions the Fātimid rulers of Egypt used a canopy or an umbrella, along with six other symbols indicative of their exalted position.⁴ With a representation of a king the *chatra* was used on a coin of Herod Agrippa I.⁵ In later times the device was not altogether lost to memory. Seljuk Turks continued the practice, and so Pope Alexander III (contemporaneous with our Parākramabāhu I) had given Ziani, doge of Venice, the right to have a canopy or umbrella held over him as a symbol of sovereign power.⁶

From this emigration of the idea we come to the Indian scene, chiefly as known from iconography, and endeavour to bridge the geographical gap. Heinrich Zimmer gives the story (from Kṛṣṇa-janma Khaṇḍa of the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa) of Śiva appearing with an umbrella. The god showed himself in hermit's guise, 'his head was shaded by a parasol of grass'.⁷ At first sight it may appear that the parasol has been introduced on account of the divinity latently residing in the hermit, as he so appears. But to think so is to conceive of the inalienability of the divine in the hermit. If that were so then the structure of the story, as a story, is weakened. Besides, the emphasis is on the outward form; the real nature is undisclosed. Thus it would be more to the point to ignore the presence of the parasol as of no greater import than as a part of the common belongings of a wandering ascetic.

On the other hand stands the figure of Asoka who has been described as the first Indian ruler to assume the status of a Cakravarti, thus combining in himself the state of god and the position of king.⁸ Of this unique status the *chatra* is one emblem. The development of the idea is pointed out as being deducible from the fact that the oldest stūpas (e.g., Sāñcī) had but a single parasol. The *chatra* held over the Buddha in iconography markedly distinguishes him from the other monks, for the Buddha was haloed with the Cakravarti concept.

2. J.G. Frazer, op. cit.—Vol. III ('Taboo and the Perils of the Soul'), p. 6 and Vol. X (as cited), pp. 18-21, 31, etc.

3. H.J.T. Johnson in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*—Vol. X. p. 637 (9).

4. D.S. Margoliouth in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*—Vol. XII, p. 146.

5. H.J.T. Johnson, as cited.

6. H.J.T. Johnson, as cited.

7. *Myths and Legends in Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 7.

8. Jeannine Auboyer, 'The Symbolism of Sovereignty in India according to Iconography' (*Indian Art and Letters*—Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 26 ff.).

Was the *chatra* an invariable emblem of a Cakravarti? H. Jacobi has cited instances which make it possible not to recognize in it a vital article among the regalia of a Universal King.⁹ This suggests that the concept of the monarch had not crystallized in the earliest days to the degree which at first we are prone to imagine. If it had, the instances cited cannot be explained.

In the earliest times when the significance of the *chatra* became fixed, there occur instances from which it is possible to imagine that the parasol had a link with a spirit of the air. That is to say, in some manner or other the parasol was associated with a supramundane being. In the recently published *Sihalavattuppakaraṇa*, which the learned editor suggests as being a work before Buddhaghosa, we are told of a spirit dwelling in the *chatra* of King Saddhātissa.¹⁰ The words used are *rañño chattamhi devatā* and *rañño chattādhivattāpi*. In early art the subject was freely shown in different areas where Buddhism prevailed, e.g., Amarāvati (in a casing slab of the stūpa), Begrām, Ajantā (Cave 17—Yasodharā and Rāhula seeing the Buddha), and in several such others. In view of situations such as these we have some justification in interpreting the presence of a sky figure as a parasol-bearer for the Buddha in more ways than as merely expressing the subordinate position of heavenly figures.

For what reasons is a sky figure shown as one feature of a parasol as mentioned in the Ceylon Pali text which we have cited? It is very probable that it is the perpetuation of a remote ideal linked with the atmosphere as well as with the most brilliant of the sky, the Sun. The virtues of the Sun were so freely absorbed in the royal myths of ancient cultures that the idea deserves some examination. What, then, was the place of the Sun in the scheme of attributes particular to kingship, whether this exalted state was universal or restricted in application? Was the spirit of the parasol in acting as a protector of a deputy of the highest authority obeying that higher authority? If so, where do we have the germ of such an idea?

We have adverted to the use of the parasol in Europe and Africa, but as to its origin we have no certain information. In Asia, however, occurs its appearance in a situation from which it is possible to suggest a reason for its use. It comes from West Asia (the Near East), from the ancient city of Persepolis. The religious beliefs of the Persepolitans of the time were intimately associated with the sun and the All-God was Ahura Mazda. There are representations of the winged Ahura Mazda traversing the sky, with one hand stretched out as if in benediction and

9. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. III, pp. 336-7. In the *Lalitavistara* it is not included among the seven requisites (Rajendralal Mitra's edn. in "Bibliotheca Indica Series", ch. 3). According to P.L. Vaidya (in the edn. of the "Buddhist Sanskrit Series") the text is prior to 308 A.C.

10. Ed. by Polwatte Buddhaddatta Thera (1959), pp. 84, 96, 117.

the other holding an annular emblem. The emblem is obviously the expression of his status and glory. Presumably it is in the category of the discus of the solar deity Viṣṇu. In the opinion of R. Ghirshman the city of Persepolis was not so much a political capital as we understand in the modern sense, as a capital city especially reserved for grand religious ceremonies, for New Year's Day and at the same time a national and imperial festival.

'Persépolis était une idée de Darius créer, non pas une capitale dans le sens politique que nous donnons à ce terme, mais une capitale réservée aux cérémonies de la plus grande fête religieuse, celle de 'Now Rouz' ou Jour de l'an, qui était en même temps une fête nationale et impériale'.¹¹

Here we undoubtedly come to a time later than that of the ancient Egyptians who have employed the parasol to denote royal rank. But even so, it is only from here that we have an inkling of a likely reason for the device of the parasol, as we shall attempt to demonstrate, to symbolize high estate.

Ghirshman gives four representations of this subject from the palace at Persepolis.¹² In three of them the king is on the lower panel, and one (his Fig. 7) is a 'close up' of the upper part of one of other scenes resembling one of the four (his Fig. 6). In one composition (our Fig. 1, his Fig. 3) the king is stepping out in his majesty and an attendant is holding with one hand a parasol above his lord; in the attendant's other hand is another of the royal insignia. Ahura Mazda floats serenely above them. The artist has not separated the two sets of figures by any device such as that of a demarcating band. Therefore it is admissible to infer that they form one single scene wherein the figures have been displayed in their correct status.

The other representations (our Fig. ii, his Fig. 6; and his Fig. 8) show a distinct difference, although both the god and the king are present. They are each physically separated by means of a demarcating line. The king is in his throne-room, as may be understood from the indications of a tasselled curtain towards the ceiling. The god is above him, it is true, but it is not evident that the artist has so placed him as to suggest a connection — except in the meaning God's in his heaven, and all's right with the world.

If this is acceptable then we may suggest that the one shows the god with the king, and the other the king in his own palace under the general protection of the All-God. In that event, the presence of the large ring in the god's hand and the parasol held over the king have to be understood.

11. 'Notes Iraniennes', VII (*Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XX, pp. 265-278).

12. His figs. 3, 6, 7 and 8.

The emblem of Ahura Mazda is circular. May not its shape suggest the extent of his authority as wielding total power over the universe? From the visible area the sky which encompasses the earth is hemispherical. The full sphere would embrace the remainder which can be expressed by visualizing the other half. If an emblem is necessary to signify the range of the god's authority it can only be by means of a circle which, seemingly, has neither beginning nor end and embraces all.

The idea may be put in words which Jacobi (op. cit.) has used in a parallel connection: 'His most prominent attribute is the *chakra*, wheel, or discus, which precedes him through the air on his conquest of the world'. It is difficult to imagine how such an idea could be graphically given a proper form otherwise, for a god who is not formless must be accompanied by the visible attributes of his dignity. The discus of Viṣṇu in his solar conception signifies the same power. It is immaterial to the present argument as to which of the two peoples may claim priority in time, but there is no doubt that Iranian is the earlier in graphic art as far as present knowledge goes.

On such reasoning we have to assume the two insignia for the king as circumscribing the power of a mortal *vis-à-vis* the god. The parasol, more or less the upper half of a curving object, suggests partial authority, that is, over the earth canopied by it. Once the idea has taken root it would naturally grow into the popular beliefs as applicable to a king of extraordinary power, who derives that power from association with the wielder of the *cakra* which, in itself was a divine attribute, whether in ancient Iran or India. Viewed in this manner, the *chatra* is not a sunshade as such, and its use is not *against* the sun. On the contrary it is a subsidiary power derived from association with the sun.

F.K.D. Bosch, in 'The Golden Germ', suggests a close connection of the *chatra* with the Tree-of-Life as expressed by the lotus. He points out that J.L. Moens, too, had independently arrived at the same conclusion.¹³ The idea of a tree as a parasol was found in early Ceylon, as known from 'Mahāvamsa' when the god Samiddhisumana took the *rājāyatana* tree, in which he resided, and held it over the Buddha. There is no hint here of that tree being regarded as a Tree-of-Life. Furthermore there is no evidence for a parallel idea to be understood as being applicable to the idea of the parasol in Egypt or Greece or Persepolis the examples of which are unquestionably earlier in time than those suggested by Bosch and Moens. The lotus is found in Egypt and the motif has been used in the art of that country. It cannot be cited as having evolved there into a *chatra*, as so suggested for Indian art. On the other hand, it is possible that the Lotus and Tree-of-Life concept occurred quite independently to the Indian mind. But if there were

13. Bosch, op. cit. pp. 161 f.

cultural contacts between India and West Asia in early times, the need to suppose such an independent origin does not arise.

Here one might recall an epithet for the Buddha who was entitled to the use of the *chatra* in the conception of Cakravarti. The Buddha was described as *Ādiccabandhu*, (Kinsman of the Sun)¹⁴ and *Daśaśata-raśmisagotra* (of the lineage of the Thousand-rayed One).¹⁵

Our note attempts to seek, not the archetype of the *chatra*, as the reason for the adoption of the *chatra* as an emblem of the highest state among men, that of a Universal King in junior partnership with the all-God of early times, the Sun.

14. For references, etc. see Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, p. 245.

15. J.J. Jones: *The Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 377f.

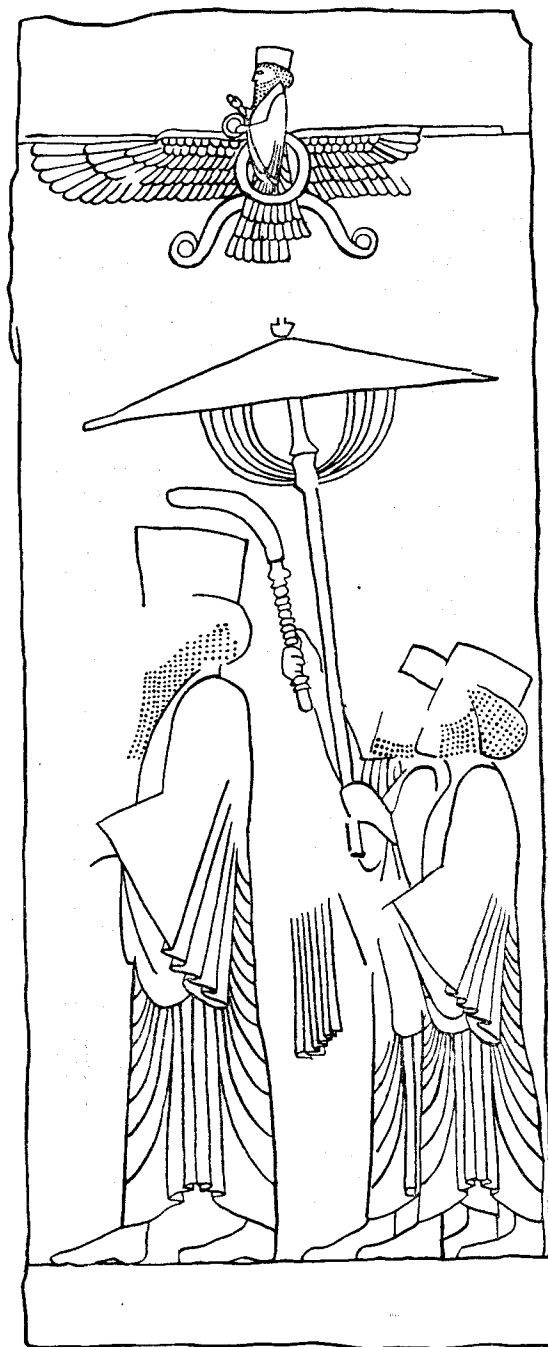


Fig. I, being R. Ghirshman's fig. 3 in *Artibus Asiae*, op.cit., captioned: "Tripylon. Port Nord. Darius suivi du porte-parasol et du chasse-mouches. (D'après *Persépolis I*, pl. 75)."

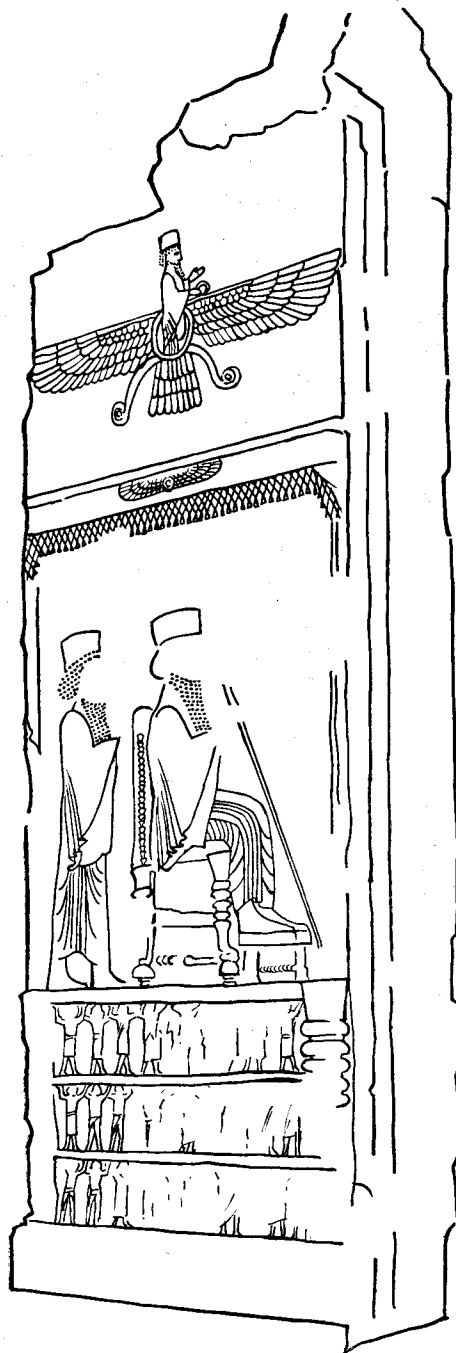


Fig. II, being fig. 6 of the same source and captioned: "Tripylon. Porte Est. Darius sur le trône avec Xerxès derrière. (D'après *Persépolis* I, pl. 78A)."

Bronzes from Polonnaruva

Lecture arranged under the auspices of the R.A.S. (C.B.) at 5-30 p.m. on 23-6-61 at the Colombo Museum Lecture Hall

Dr. S. Paranavitana presided. A very large and representative gathering was present. The lecture was illustrated with slides.

In introducing the lecturer, Dr. C.E. Godakumbura, the Chairman said:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are holding a special meeting today for a lecture by Dr. Godakumbura on some recent discoveries of art objects at Polonnaruva. I do not think it is necessary for me to say very much in introducing Dr. Godakumbura as he was one of our Hon. Secretaries some years ago. He is one of the foremost scholars we have in Ceylon, with a reputation not confined to Ceylon. He is speaking today on an important subject which I think will reveal much interesting data on the history of art in Ceylon and South India.

Dr. Godakumbura then delivered his lecture on

BRONZES FROM POLONNARUVA, 1960

On the 1st of December, 1916, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam delivered before your learned Society an erudite lecture entitled "Polonnaruva Bronzes and Śiva Worship and Symbolism". In this lecture Sir Ponnambalam gave an account of the Natarājā and other Śaiva bronzes discovered at Śiva-dēvālē No. 1 and Śiva-dēvālē No. 5 at Polonnaruva by Mr. H.C.P. Bell in 1907 and 1908, and which are at the Colombo Museum. This lecture is published fully in Vol. XXIV (No. 68) of the *Journal* of your Society.

I propose to describe and illustrate this evening further bronzes and few other objects found at the second of the above sites, that is Śiva-dēvālē designated No. 5. This shrine stands by the Viṣṇu dēvālē, designated No. 4. The vimānas of both shrines now lie fallen behind them. Architectural descriptions of both shrines are given in the *Report of the Archaeological Survey* for 1908. One approaches these monuments turning left at the entrance to Polonnaruva on the Habarana—Manampitiya Road, and proceeding a short way on the road to Lakṣa-uyana colony or Ānālundāwa.

Sir Ponnambalam selected only the Śaiva statuettes for discussion. A figure of Viṣṇu is also among the finds of 1908 at the Śiva-dēvālē. There is further a bas-relief of Saptamātrī. It is, however, true

that quite in accordance with the religious history of the period, statuettes and objects belonging to the Śaiva group, predominate. The position is the same with regard to the finds at the site in 1960. There may be here a solitary representation of the Brahmā group if our identification of the first find is correct.

The circumstances of the finds are as follows:—

On the 18th of September, 1960, in the course of the clearing of debris at the site of Śiva-dēvālē No. 5 referred to earlier, a bronze statuette of a female, 5½ inches high, was found between this shrine and Viṣṇu-dēvālē No. 4. On the right wrist of the figurine rests a bird. This may be a parrot. Considering this bird and the headgear of the figurine, one may identify it as a representation of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning and consort of Brahmā.

A month later further bronzes, this time very much larger ones, were noticed behind the same Śiva-dēvālē, near the spot where its massive brick *vimāna* lies fallen. On the 19th of October, the day of the Dīpavālī festival, the present speaker, with the help of Mr. N.H.R. Nalawangsa, of the Archaeological Department commenced excavations at the spot. There was a group of images, together with the pedestals of some of them and halos of others buried in a pit 5 feet by 3 feet and 3 feet deep from the level of the foundation of the dēvālē. The pit had been dug purposely to bury the statuettes. These images were carefully arranged in the order of their precedence in the Hindu pantheon accepted at the period. Pride of place even in this earthy grave had been given to a statuette of Śiva as Natarājā, 37 inches in height. Its tuft of hair was not found, but the pedestal and halo, the latter called in Sanskrit *prabhā* or in Tamil *tiruvāsi* were found separately. With the pedestal and the *prabhā* this statuette measures 56 inches. The ornaments from the ear-lobes were also missing.

There was also a seated statuette of Śiva, in Somaskandha-mūrti 21 inches high with the protruding leg. Its pedestal and *prabhā* were found separately. The seated consort and the son, however, were missing.

A standing figure of Viṣṇu in the Bhogasthāna-mūrti was the third find. Its pedestal was found separately. The complete height with the pedestal is 30¼ inches. The *gadā* or club in the left front hand is missing.

In an attitude of attending on the male gods were two images of goddesses. One may be that of Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva and the other that of Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu; or both may be representations of Pārvatī herself.

In a position of paying adoration and homage to the gods were the statuettes of two *bhakta* or devotees of Śiva. The devotee wearing

a crown and standing on a lotus pedestal may be identified as Chan-ḍeśvara. The devotee in plain headgear, not provided with a pedestal may be taken to be Sundara-mūrti-swāmi.

A Sudarśana-cakra, the Asura slaying discus of Viṣṇu was also among the finds of this day. An earthen censer with charcoal in it bore silent testimony of a final ritual accompanied with burning of incense.

Within a week after the collection of the above finds, further objects were discovered at the site of the same dēvālē. On the 26th of October, a number of small statuettes and other objects were found in an earthen pot at a point 27½ feet from the southern plinth of the building. These statuettes, though small, display the greatest skill in workmanship. Among them are also figures which serve as peculiar examples of Hindu iconography. Following are the bronzes found buried in the clay pot:—

- i. Śiva in Naṭarājā-mūrti complete with tuft of hair, halo and pedestal.
- ii. Śiva as Baṭuka-Bhairava with dog behind.
- iii. Śikhivāhana-skandha.
- iv. Bālakriṣṇa, poised on one leg and dancing.
- v-vi. Two goddesses, standing.
- vii. Goddess seated.
- viii. Nandi, the bull sacred to Śiva, his *vāhana*.

There were also in the pot such objects of bronze as tripods, incense burners and a bowl with its lid. It also contained two Śivalingas of stone and two figurines of Gaṇeśa, one of stone and the other of clay. There was also a small conch. Near the pot were found the three pieces of a bell, namely, the handle, the striker and the cup.

A bronze statuette depicting an emaciated female figure was discovered on the same day as the above figurines, on the same side of the building and 11 feet away from its foundation. This figure is identified as Kāraikkāl-ammaiyār, a devotee of Śiva. This is the most beautifully wrought figure of this female devotee of Śiva that has so far been published. It is nearly 11½ inches in height. The character of the holy lady, as related in the *Periyapurāṇam* is very effectively portrayed in this piece of sculpture. The figure is not common. I shall show you two other examples, which have been wrongly identified. They do not come anywhere near the present example in cleverness of execution.

On the next day, namely 27th of October, a large statuette of Gaṇeśa of exceptional beauty and manifesting special characteristics was found at a spot 18½ feet west of the dēvālē foundation, and 2½

feet below the ground level. There are foundations of a *kōvil* possibly of Gaṇapati near this Śiva-*dēvālē* and evidently this belonged to it. The statuette is 23 inches high and is placed on a lotus pedestal 9 inches high. The figure carries in the left front hand a mango, true to Sinhalese tradition. The only similar example of a figure of Gaṇeśvara, published by Miss Alice Getty of Paris, who wrote an interesting and informative monograph on the subject, is from Polonnaruva, and that may be the very bas-relief mentioned by Bell as found at this Śiva-*dēvālē*. Miss Getty merely says the figure is from Polonnaruva, but is not exact about its provenance. One is not able to trace it today.

On the 28th of November, the following objects were unearthed on the northern quarter of the premises of the shrine — 6 feet away from the northern entrance a statuette of Viṣṇu in Bhogaśthāna-mūrti, 19½ inches in height was discovered. The *gadā* is found, but the statuette has no pedestal. The two statuettes differ from each other in their physical characteristics, the arrangement of drapery and the display of ornaments including the *Kirīṭa-makuta*.

Further away from the statuette of Viṣṇu were found a bell and two lampstands.

(Photographs of the excavation and finds put on the screen).

See below for list of photographs shown.

Ladies and gentlemen, you have now seen the pictures of the bronzes and let us now consider their workmanship. Bell describes the bronzes he discovered in 1907 and 1908 as "doubtless cast in India". We have had the opportunity of examining Ceylon bronzes more closely since Bell's time. The discoveries made in 1960 compel one to revise Bell's opinion.

You have seen the special features and peculiar characteristics of the Polonnaruva bronzes. There are distinct features about them. The image of Gaṇeśvara and that of Sarasvatī are very clear examples. So were several other finds such as the statuette of Bhairava.

Gopinath Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Vol. II, Pt. II, 1916, page 467) speaking on the sculptures of Chandeśvara quotes from a work called *Kāmikāgama* which cites treatises from Siṃhaladeśa (Ceylon). Basham in his *The Wonder that was India* (1954, page 376) says "An important school of bronze casting existed in Ceylon, and produced works similar in style to those of South India". It should also be stated that examples of sculptures from Ceylon, whether Buddhist or Hindu, can be found to illustrate early development of Indian iconography. The figures of Gaṇapati in the friezes of the Vāhalkaḍas of Kaṇṭaka-cetiya at Mihintale are good examples.

Students of Ceylon History know that the majority of the Hindu shrines of Polonnaruva and the sculpture connected with them belong to the period of Chōla occupation in Ceylon between the eleventh year of Mahinda V, that is, A.D. 993, and the conquest of the city by Vijayabāhu I in A.D. 1070.

The erection of Buddhist shrines, the making of Buddha images, and the execution of paintings at various religious buildings during the course of centuries, made the Sinhalese people experts in architecture, sculpture and painting. The Chōlas who brought the Sinhalese under subjection at the end of the tenth century employed these Sinhalese craftsmen to build temples for their gods, and make sculptures of them. The hands that built vihāras and dāgābas and fashioned images of the Buddha were made to build shrines for Śiva and Viṣṇu and to sculpture their images. The position would have been just the same as the employment of Sinhalese workmen for the building of Christian churches by their western conquerors after the fifteenth century, and the employment of ex-Buddhist priests for the translation of scriptures by the early nineteenth century missionaries in Ceylon.

The Sinhalese sculptors of Polonnaruva, conscientiously or not, introduced their ideas and forms to the architecture and sculpture they executed.

The Hindu priests of Polonnaruva who held the field for themselves for nearly a century would have been taken unawares by the sudden onrush of the victorious armies of Vijayabāhu. These devotees as they hastened to bury the images of their gods as the circumstances warranted, most probably relieved them of the valuable jewellery such as necklaces and ear-ornaments. They evidently hoped to re-deck their gods when victory was gained. The valuables may have fallen into the hands of the victors, or may still be lying buried, awaiting the pick-axe of the archaeologist, perhaps inside the citadel, where the Chōlians and their supporters held out to the last.

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS PUT ON THE SCREEN

1. Sarasvatī. (See Plate 1a)
2. Sarasvatī, profile. (See Plate 1b)
3. Find spots
4. Detail of find-spot 2 before excavation
5. do excavation in progress
6. do after partial excavation
7. do after further excavation
8. do after still further excavation

9. Naṭarājā and two goddesses *in situ*
10. The crowd which gathered to view the excavation
11. Naṭarājā (See Plate 2)
12. Somaskhanda-mūrti — front view. (See Plate 3a)
13. do profile (See Plate 3b)
14. Naṭarājā and other statuettes from 1907 finds
15. Viṣṇu — front view
16. Viṣṇu — back view
17. Pārvatī — front view. (See Plate 4a)
18. Pārvatī — back view. (See Plate 4b)
19. Goddess — front view
20. Goddess — back view
21. Chanḍeśvara
22. Sundaramūrti
23. Sundaramūrti, profile
24. Bhaktas from 1907 finds
25. Sudarśana-cakra
26. Gaṇeśa *in situ*
27. Gaṇeśa — front view. (See Plate 5a)
28. Gaṇeśa — back view. (See Plate 5b)
29. Kāraikkāl-Ammaiyār *in situ*
30. Kāraikkāl-Ammaiyār. (See Plate 6)
31. Kāraikkāl-Ammaiyār — wrongly identified as Kālī in *Art of Indian Asia* by Heinrich Zimmar
32. Kāraikkāl-Ammaiyār — in Victoria and Albert Museum wrongly identified in *The Wonder that was India* by A.L. Basham
33. Small finds in pot *in situ*
34. Group of finds from pot (See Plate 7)
35. Further finds from pot

Details of 33 - 35

36. Naṭarājā
37. Baṭuka-Bahirava — front view.
38. do — back view.
39. Śikhivāhana
40. Bālakriṣṇa
41. Goddess

42. Goddess
43. do
44. Stone Statuette of Gaṇeśa
45. Nandi
46. Liṅga
47. Liṅga
48. Bell, Liṅgas, etc.
49. Incense burners and tripods
50. Bowl on tripod and lid
51. Viṣṇu and lamp stand *in situ*
52. Viṣṇu — front view. (See Plate 8a)
53. Viṣṇu — back view. (See Plate 8b)
54. Lamp stands *in situ*
55. Bell *in situ*
56. Bell

DISCUSSION

OBSERVATIONS OF SIR KANTHIAH VAITHIANATHAN

Dr. Godakumbura, the Archaeological Commissioner, must be highly congratulated on describing carefully the circumstances of the discovery, the precision with which he had described the statues and the erudition with which he has brought out their salient points. As is fitting a scholar, he had raised issues about which, without being dogmatic, he has thrown various suggestions for consideration of students whose duty it will be to study these images carefully and not jump to conclusions by merely looking at photographs of them.

Dr. Godakumbura has brought before us an impressive galaxy of really wonderful sculptures, some of which are good by any standard. One could speak for many hours about each one of them, their special peculiarities and the Purāṇa (புராணக் கதை) stories and other ideas of which they are symbols. The Antiquarian and the Artist has each his own criterion in studying them.

As to the date of the casting of these images, I think there will be no great controversy, even though the chronological order of the ruined Śiva temples Nos. 1 to 5 at Polonnaruva has yet to be determined. For instance, the Śiva temple No. 2, in the style of the imperial Cholas, is certainly anterior to Śiva temple No. 1, which is in Pāṇḍiyan style. There is bound to be, however, controversy about the district where these images were cast and the correct identification of some of them. An audience such as this must bear in mind that there are hundreds of

Śiva temples in South India of which our Śiva Saints of the 7th and 9th centuries have sung praises and which are anterior by several centuries to the period of these images. Those temples are still in worship and contain a tremendous variety and multitude of images, old and new, which would afford a clue to the proper antiquarian, artistic and symbolic character of any of the images which have been brought before us today and examples of whose similarities can be cited from some temple or other. I do not propose, however, to go into these learned discussions as that would take hours even to sketch briefly. A suggestion has been thrown that the images before us were the work of Sinhalese craftsmen. From my point of view today, that is of very little importance and I would not like to quarrel over the suggestion.

I wish merely to make a few observations on some of the statues from the point of view of art and specially, symbolism peculiar to the Hindu principles of making images — particularly images deemed suitable for consecration in temples and subsequent worship. To the orthodox Hindu, the formless and attributeless God is impossible of representation by mere human art as He is impossible of description by human speech. But nevertheless certain forms are sanctioned only as allegorical representation to enable the mind to appreciate, grasp and concentrate on certain aspects of Godhood. "Spiritual contemplation is the key note of Hindu art", says Havell. The science and art of making images is described in detail in the Kamikha-Agama which is itself a life-long study for Hindu sculptors. Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam has quoted an ancient Sanskrit writer, Sukracharya, probably of the beginning of the Christian Era, if not earlier, when he read a similar paper on the Polonnaruva Bronzes discovered in 1907. "The Artist", the Acharya says, "should attain to the image of the gods by means of spiritual contemplation *only*. The spiritual vision is the best and truest standard for him. To make human figures is bad and even irreligious". He says again in another place, "In order that the form of an image may be brought out fully and clearly upon the mind, the image-maker must meditate and his success will be in proportion to his meditation. No other way, not even seeing the object itself, will answer this purpose".

The Greek ideal, therefore, of representing gods and goddesses in the mould of perfect human form would be irregular for the art of Hindu images. This is the first shock which Westerners and non-Hindus get usually when they view the multitudinous images and scenes depicted in a temple Gopuram, if they do not take the trouble to understand the meaning behind each figure and the story which each scene depicts.

In identifying one of the female images to be probably that of Saraswathy, the lecturer mentions the parrot seated on her right hand as well as the absence of a kridam as indications. As against that possi-

bility, it could even be stated that the statue may be that of just an ordinary female attendant or devotee or a symbol similar to Deepa-Luximi which abounds in Hindu temples. Moreover, in the Dhyāna Ratnavali the devotee meditates thus, "I meditate on Him, resplendent as a million suns, — on the left the lady Śiva, dark of hue, water lily, rosary, parrot, hand on hip —" Here, the parrot is mentioned as an ornament of Śiva-kāmi and it will also be noticed that the rosary, which is always associated with Saraswathy, (goddess of knowledge, Gnāna), is also mentioned as a requisite of Śiva-kāmi. My point is that one has to be careful and circumspect before proclaiming an identification.

Every Hindu knows the story of Kāraikkāl-Ammaiyār, whose miniature statue of 11 inches is the gem of the whole collection. She prayed to Lord Śiva to take away her beauty and to grant instead the appearance of a demoness to get over the obstacle in the spiritual path caused by her beauty. What looks hideous in this image to the superficial observer is a glorious allegory to the devotee, particularly if happiness in the eyes is truly represented, as in this specimen. This is a popular image in practically every one of the hundreds of Śiva temples in South India, in various poses and forms. This identical form and pose may be seen in many places. I have seen similar illustrations before. So, this cannot be said to be peculiar to Polonnaruva art.

Take again the learned lecturer's remark about Lord Gaṇeśa holding the mango as if it were also something peculiar to Ceylon. The story of the reward of a mango to Gaṇeśa, in preference to Lord Śiva's other son, Muruga (Karatagama Devio), is known to every Hindu school boy. There are 16 forms of Gaṇeśa authorised by Shastras and permitted to be consecrated for worship in temples. This particular figure, though impressive to the eye, does not conform to the Shastric definitions; nor, from an artistic point of view, are the three-fold characteristics of the Arakha in the lower limbs and belly, Deva in the chest and arms, and the King of the animal kingdom in the face and head, clearly and distinctly brought out. Such a symbol, however, is not unknown to art or worship elsewhere.

Again in the statue of the Lord of Dance, certainly a majestic and magnificent figure of Natarāja, the smile of grace (கொவ்வைச் செவ்வாய்க் குமிண் சிரிப்பு) and the pleasing natural lift (இனித்த முடைய எடுத்த பொற்பாதம்) of the left foot and the pointing finger of the way to salvation, are imperfectly drawn. There are other important omissions too. I need say little about the make-shift of a Thiru-vasai for Lord Natarāja, much in the same style as for Somaskanda or as indicated by the remnants of it for Lord Gaṇeśa. This only shows that there are sculptors in all countries who do not rise to the high spiritual standards set for them by the Shastras.

A number of smaller statues found together in the pot are of little artistic or Dhyāna merits, though they are nevertheless extremely interesting specimens.

Finally, the thought I wish to leave with you is that even to consider these sculptures as art, we must bear in mind the Hindu principle that it is not the eye which has to be pleased first, but rather the inner being so that as in the case of the Lord of Thiru Veeli-Milalai, "the eye is pleased because of the contemplative satisfaction of the mind": "திருவீழி மிழலை வீற்றிருக்குங் கொற்றவன்நன்னைக் கண்டு கண்டு உள்ளங் குளிர என் கண் குளிர்த்தனவே". The ordinary critic reverses the process; to him what pleases the eye pleases the mind. One must, therefore, first appreciate the tradition, feeling and symbolism of a people, before one can comment on their art, particularly their religious art.

OBSERVATIONS OF DR. W. BALENDRA

I must congratulate Dr. Godakumbura, Acting Archaeological Commissioner, for the excellent lecture he delivered today on the bronzes recently discovered. At an earlier meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society we had the opportunity of hearing much about the Trincomalee bronzes. I must thank the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society for giving me that opportunity.

The bronzes we saw today or more precisely the Godakumbura bronzes are the best I have yet seen. The excavations undertaken by the Archaeological Department at Polonnaruva have unravelled valuable information and facts about our ancient Ceylon heritage than history has afforded us. Historians have told us that history and archaeology go together. Archaeology I can well say gives us facts more than history. This is quite true in the light of Dr. Godakumbura's lecture today on the excavations at Polonnaruva. History it may be said states facts in the light of race, political predilection or religious bias of the historian, while archaeology corrects history, for excavation shows the material of history.

The bronzes that have emerged from the excavations by the Department at Polonnaruva are some of the best in the world. Almost all the bronzes reveal the exquisite art of the times. Their brilliant execution cannot be gainsaid. Who did these bronzes? Dr. Godakumbura has answered us the question. I have seen many similar images in many parts of India, Ceylon and Java. The Śiva Natarājā image at Madras can be easily compared with the best I have seen. But by whom they have been cast has not been definitely established. Probably the Javanese bronze workers of the Chōla period in Java, the Javanese being master craftsmen must have cast them. But who did them is immaterial as Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam said.

I suggest that these bronzes be placed at a Museum at Polonnaruva.

DR. GODAKUMBURA'S REPLY

Dr. Godakumbura thanked Sir Kandiah for supplementing his talk. He added that he did not repeat what had been already published on the subject of Hindu iconography as the publications were easily available to any one interested. The same applied to symbolism and other philosophical expositions.

The lecturer had looked for a representation of Gaṇeśa holding a mango in several leading works on Hindu iconography, and could not find an Indian example. (Sir Kandiah showed him one on the front cover of a magazine, but that was a journal printed in Colombo).

Dr. Godakumbura repeated that he was eager to learn more about the subject. He thanked also Dr. W. Balendra for help in his study of these bronzes, and stated that Dr. Balendra's paper on the "Trincomalee Bronzes" was of great help to him for purposes of comparison. He wished that these bronzes also were published in the Society's *Journal**. Dr. Godakumbura thanked also the Office Assistant of the Archaeological Department, Mr. V. Sri Ranganathan, for directing him to references in Tamil literature, particularly regarding the Hindu Saints, and expressed his gratitude for the valuable co-operation of all members of his staff who helped him during the excavation and the pursuit of research on the finds, and the preparation of the talk for that evening.

IN CONCLUSION DR. S. PARANAVITANA SAID:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am sure that you will all agree with me that we have listened to a lecture of absorbing interest illustrated by superb lantern slides. The bronzes, mainly Śaiva in character, of which we have seen the slides are of great artistic value and their study gives rise to various questions of historical, aesthetic and iconographic import. Dr. Godakumbura, in his lecture, has touched upon many of these questions and as he has himself stated, there is room for difference of opinion on some of them. If I may comment on one or two of these points, while the artistic value of these bronzes is very great, the figures of Natarājās in this collection do not approach the excellence of the famous Natarājā bronze in the Madras Museum and that found previously at Polonnaruva and now in the Colombo Museum. Some of these bronzes have peculiar iconographic characteristics. Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam has suggested that some of the bronzes discovered earlier at Polonnaruva have certain Ceylonese traits, but in

*Dr. Balendra's article could not be published in the *Journal of the Society* as it had already been published by Dr. Balendra separately and was available for sale — Ed.

the main all these bronzes follow South Indian traditions and are representative of South Indian art. To many, the interest of these images will be mainly religious and we are indebted to Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan for an illuminating discourse on that aspect of the subject. Finally, I hope that these bronzes will form the subject of a publication in which all these matters will be adequately dealt with, so that they will receive the attention of scholars interested in Indian art all over the world. I am glad to learn that Dr. Godakumbura is now engaged on this work and I hope that Mr. S.C. Fernando, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry in charge of the Archaeological Department, whose presence at this meeting is a great encouragement, will give him all the necessary facilities for the purpose.

Mr. R.L. Brohier proposed the Vote of Thanks to the Lecturer and the Chair. In doing so he said:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have this evening been initiated into a subject in an important field. This has been done by a lecturer who to the best of my knowledge has not addressed our meetings before.

Dr. Godakumbura is presently acting in the capacity of Archaeological Commissioner. His lecture today gives promise that the invaluable work in the field of research, begun in his period of office as Archaeological Commissioner, by the eminent Archaeologist and Epigraphist who is presiding at our meeting, will not go by default.

There have been a good many discussions following lectures under the auspices of the R.A.S. in this hall, but I have seldom heard such an interesting one as this evening, and I think that is perhaps the best compliment our speaker can have of the appreciation of his lecture. Ladies and Gentlemen, I trust that with these few words, you will pass a Vote of Thanks to the lecturer for his very interesting talk and the manner he has presented it; and also to Dr. Paranavitana, for presiding at our meeting today in the absence of our President.

A few additional notes on the statuettes are given below:

These are divided into the three groups, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Brahmā.

ŚAIVAITÉ GROUP

1. Naṭarāja

(i) This statuette, although devoid of the tuft of hair and the ear-ornaments, is one of the finest ever discovered. It is the largest bronze Naṭarāja so far known. Coomaraswamy in his *Dance of Śhiva*, Bombay, 1948, page 86, says "The images are of all sizes, rarely if ever exceeding four feet in total height". Our bronze exceeds nearly seven inches over four feet. One special feature of this statuette is the shape of its *prabhā*. Similar ones are, however, very rarely found elsewhere (see Gopinath Rao: Plate LXVI). The other feature is the group of musicians in the frieze on the front side of the lotus pedestal. Originally there has been here a frieze of pilasters and lions. The frieze of musicians has been superimposed on it. The musicians from right to left are: a woman beating a pair of cymbals, a conch-blower, a reed-flute player, a woman beating a kettle drum (*kumba*), a cymbalist. No Śhiva-Naṭarāja bronze with a similar frieze of musicians is known. There are a few South Indian examples of Śhiva Naṭarāja in stone with his dance supported by musicians (Gopinath Rao; Plate LXIX). The faces of the musicians admit comparison with similar sculpture found elsewhere in Ceylon, while the face of the deformed dwarf (Sanskrit: *Aṣmārapuruṣa*; Tamil: *Musalakan*) on which the dancing Śhiva stands resembles very closely the faces of the dwarfs at the *vaṭadāgē*, Polonnaruwa.

(ii) The small statuette of Śhiva-Naṭarāja found in the clay pot, complete with the tuft of hair, halo and pedestal, total height 5½ inches, is an excellent piece of art.

2. Śhiva in Somaskandha-mūrti

There is a striking peculiarity when compared with other representations of Śhiva in this *mūrti*. All other examples so far examined including those illustrated in publications on Indian Iconography, have their left leg on pedestal. The present one has the right leg in this position.

3. Śhiva as Baṭuka-Bhairava

Among finds in the pot was also a statuette of Śhiva as youthful Bhairava, with dog behind. Complete height of the statuette with pedestal is 5½ inches. The characteristics of this representation

of Bhairava are described in *the History and Culture of the Indian people*, Vol. IV (1955), page 307, as follows: "Baṭuka - Bhairava (Youthful Bhairava) is usually shown as a nude figure, terrifying in appearance, with fangs protruding from the corners of the mouth parted with a weird smile, with eyes round and rolling, and hands holding such objects as a sword, a *khaṭvaṅga* or *śūla*, and a *kapāla*; he wears wooden sandals and is accompanied by a dog".

The features of the present find are not completely in agreement with above; yet we may be fairly certain about our identification.

4. Pārvatī as Śivakāmasundarī

The complete height of this statuette with the pedestal is 38 inches. The proportions of the various parts of the body are very well maintained. It has a long neck and breasts of natural size.

5. Pārvatī

The statuette of a goddess, 32½ inches in height with pedestal, also may be one of Pārvatī. This however, differs from the previous in proportions of limbs and features of both face and body. Its face is bloated, neck short and breasts huge. The drapery is also different in style of execution. Perhaps the consort of Viṣṇu, namely Lakṣmī, did not find a place in a temple of Śiva.

6. Śikhivāhana (-Skandha)

The figure riding on a peacock which is 4½ inches with pedestal, also found in the clay pot, is taken to be a representation of Śikhivāhana-Skandha, son of Śiva. Here we find one head and four hands as against the six heads and twelve hands of Mahasena.

7-8. Goddesses Standing

The two seated statuettes of goddesses, one complete height 4½ inches, and the other 5 inches, may be representations of Pārvatī. Or one of them may be a consort of Śikhivāhana. Since these are a stray collection, identification is difficult.

9. Goddess Seated

The seated figure in *Lalitāsana*, the complete height of which is 2 inches does also present difficulties of identification. It is really difficult to identify Śaktis of Gods, as their individual characteristics are not shown separately when they accompany their male consorts.

10. Gaṇapati

Speaking of the statuette of Gaṇapati, one may add from Heinrich Zimmer's *the Art of Indian Asia*, (p. 17). "The Indian Civilizations, both Buddhist and Hindu, of Ceylon, Cambodia, Siam and Java possessed superb art geniuses of their own".

11. Caṇḍeśvara

The statuette of Śiva-bhakta Caṇḍeśvara, 26½ inches high, stands on a lotus pedestal 3¼ inches in height.

12. Sundaramūrti-Svāmi

The statuette of this bhakta, 19¾ inches high is provided with a very low pedestal ¼ inches high.

13. Kāraikkāl-Ammaiyār

This statuette is of a class by itself. Writers on Hindu Art and Iconography are wont to identify this figure as an aspect of Kālī. (See Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, Plate 422: "Kālī, worshipping Śiva, XIVth century A.D.; A.L. Basham: *Wonder that was India*, Plate LXX: Kālī as demoness playing cymbals, Bronze. Cōla).

VAIṢṆAVA GROUP

1-2. Viṣṇu

There are two statuettes of Viṣṇu, both in Bhogasthāna-murti. The larger one, 24 inches high, stands on a pedestal of 6½ inches. The other statuette is provided with only a low pedestal of ¾ inches.

3. Bālakṛṣṇa

The statuette of Bālakṛṣṇa is 4 inches high with the pedestal. With its *Jaṭāmakūṭa* and *muktāpaṭṭa*, it shows excellent workmanship.

BRAHMĀ GROUP

Sararasvatī

The first find which has been identified as Sarasvatī is the only figure that can be taken as belonging to the group of Brahmā.

The Rebellion of 1665 against Raja Simha.

Comments on Ambanvela Rāla's Statement to the Dutch

By J.H.O. PAULUSZ

The spirited tale of the Nilambē rebellion, spoken by the mouth of the ringleader himself, carries a special weight of authority; and, in its fullness of vivid detail, gives life and colour to the scenes already sketched in the sober pages of Knox. N 1

The story rings true; and has the merit that it freely lays bare the weaknesses of the plotters and the reasons why they failed. Ambanvela Rāla, for example, could be so carried away by his own eloquence that he fed his men on vague declamatory assurances instead of issuing crisp, forthright orders. His confederates were mostly bunglers who, as often, as not, killed friends in mistake for foes. It is true there was no lack of courage; but equally no clear cut plan, with a methodical sequence of steps leading to a single fixed aim, — to lay the king by the heels and then kill him with their own hands, to make sure. Instead, everything was hypothetical, conditional; because even when the victim was entrapped, they refused to strike the mortal blow. 'If the king comes out, we will fight'. (But only to hold him prisoner). 'If he flees we will let him go'. Desperate enterprises are not carried to success by whimsical half measures. The instant the king took to flight their aggression lost its momentum, just when it should have gone driving forward with fresh vigour. At that turning-point they opened a barren academic debate as to their own fitness to govern. After the Prince had given them fair words and kept them in play, they showed a trustful alacrity in accepting his offer, without thought of safeguards or guarantees, although they knew that the old lion was alive and assuredly roaring defiance. They might have been ignorant of the precise nature of his coming counterstroke, but not ignorant of his character.

Valentyn's account is borrowed largely from Knox; but he adds a fanciful illustration of Raja Simha in full flight with an elephant bull-doing a passage ahead through the thick jungle. N 2

Ambanvela Rāla was sent in chains to Colombo as a convicted traitor with a request that Governor Rijckloff van Goens the Elder would give him fitting punishment. According to Pieter van Dam (who seldom lets slip an opportunity to criticise van Goens) the king made this gesture 'as a token of the great confidence he reposed in us' N 3 Valentyn on the other hand says that the king's action was due to a

belief that the Dutch were far more accomplished than himself in the arts of butchery; and that their unrivalled skill and experience should be brought to bear to prolong the agonies of Ambanvela's death by ingenious and lingering tortures. In the sequel the Dutch kept him in confinement for over a year, but were under no temptation to put him to death. In 1666 they sent him away to Batavia; still later, moved by a new surge of resentment against Raja Simha, they set him free, honoured him with a title (Don Rijckloff) and granted him a pension. N 4

The dates given by Ambanvela Rāla seem confused. As reported by Knox, the rebellion broke out at midnight on the 21st of December 1664 and lasted five days. N 5 But Ambanvela places it in March 1665 and then brings in a fresh complication with the statement that, by the Sinhalese mode of reckoning, (presumably according to the Saka era), the year was 1583. The error might, by possibility, be explained on the ground that nearly ten years had passed since the events took place, and that Ambanvela's memory was at fault. His delay to make a statement can be readily understood. Although he seems to have been by nature talkative he would in this case not allow a babbling tongue to trumpet to the four winds an account of the plot, even though he might himself have got clear away to safety. There were lesser partisans who had been accessories either before or after the fact and whose lives would be put in jeopardy by disclosures made too soon. However, as to the dates, the Dutch records confirm Knox. The following translated extract from the Minutes of Council of the 23rd July, 1666 shows conclusively that Ambanvela Rāla was sent to Colombo in January 1665. N 6

'Next, His Excellency brought to the notice of Council that Ambanbilea the Sinhalese (who had been sent down a prisoner to us by Raja Simha in January of last year, having been convicted of raising the rebellion against him) was still sitting here in custody; and that Raja had caused inquiries to be made about him through the latest delegation of envoys that he had sent down; and had allowed this much to be known, that he would gladly see him put to death by us. But, although it would not be proper for us to comply with his wishes in this respect, His Excellency invited Council to consider whether it might not be necessary to send this same Ambanbilea from the country and out of sight; and the sooner the better; in order thereby to remove all evil suspicion that the king might entertain in case Ambanbilea should continue longer to be held secured by us. After ripe deliberation all the members unanimously took the view that His Excellency's proposal was founded on sound reasons and was in the highest degree necessary. Accordingly it was decreed that the afore-noticed Ambanbilea should be sent at the first opportunity in secret to Batavia'.

N1. 'Historical Relation': Pt. 2 Ch. 7 and Pt. 4 Ch. 5.

N2. 'Ceylon': pp. 198-9.

N3. Dr. F.W. Stapel's edition: Chapter on Ceylon. Bk. 2 Vol. 2 p. 311.

N4. Valentyn: 'Ceylon' p. 249/2.

N5. See Note (1) on first page.

N6. Codex 12; Ceylon Government Archives.

Comments on 'Ceylon and Malayasia in Mediaeval Times'

DR. K.W. GOONEWARDENE

1. Professor Paranavitana (p. 7) has drawn attention to a reference to a Malala king in the *Kāvyaśekhara* of Sri Rahula. The poet imagines that the kings of different lands were paying homage to the Bodhisatta in Benares in ancient times by bringing with them as presents certain 'characteristic products of their countries'. The Malala king is said to have brought with him cardamoms, betel-leaves of Malaya, pepper, nutmeg, cubeb and precious stones. Now, most of these products were common to both the Malay Peninsula and Malabar, to which also the name 'Malaya' is applicable. But Professor Paranavitana points out that the cubeb according to ancient Tamil literature was a commodity 'brought in ships to South India from regions in the Malay Peninsula'. He concludes that it is 'justifiable to take the Malalas as people of the Malay Peninsula' . . .

I wish to point out that there is yet another item in the list of presents which can be accepted as a product peculiar to the Malay Peninsula. The Portuguese and Dutch writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries leave us in no doubt about the fact that nutmegs were to be found only in Malayasia — and that too, in a very restricted area, the Banda Islands. Thus the argument of Professor Paranavitana is strengthened.

2. That Kalinga, the home of Niśśamkamalla could not be identical with the Kalinga in India, is, I believe, very strongly suggested — if not conclusively proved — by certain evidence which Professor Paranavitana has himself given, though he has not drawn pointed attention to it. He refers to the inscriptions in which Niśśamkamalla speaks with pride and affection of his birthplace of Sinhapura in Kalinga. (See pp. 27, 28, 33). The king specifically refers to his having built alms-halls in Vijayapura in Kalinga (p. 33). On the other hand, he also refers to a Kalinga towards which he did not have such friendly or affectionate feelings. And this Kalinga, according to the context in which it appears, was the kingdom in India (p. 34). The first, therefore, was outside India and — in the light of other evidence — it was in Malayasia.

3. There is evidence to indicate that the Sinhalese maintained friendly relations with the people of the Malay Peninsula even in the early seventeenth century. The Dutch documents dealing with the expedition of Sebald de Weert (1603-04) contain references to diplomatic exchanges between Vimaladharmasuriya I and the powerful Malay state of Acheh, which was situated quite close to the region of Kalinga as identified by Professor Paranavitana.

4. Finally, I feel that it is worth noting that a number of Sinhalese family names suggests a Malay connection, e.g. Malalage, Malalasēkhara and Malalgoda. And the fact that many people bearing such names have remarkably Malay features may not be altogether accidental.

Comments on 'Ceylon and Malayasia in Mediaeval Times'

By PAULINUS TAMBIMUTTU

Dr. Paranavitana's conclusion that the people of Ceylon and Malaya would have come in contact with each other from ancient days due to geographical considerations, etc. is supported by other evidence. Dr. N.D. Wijesekera states that there is a faint trace of Mongoloid features in the modern Sinhalese population, and an alveolar prognathism. He also states that the Polynesian word for canoe is 'oru-u' which is 'oruwa' in Sinhalese, and that there are similarities in the masks, mode of wearing the lower garment, etc. of the Sinhalese and the people of the Indonesian islands.

Professor Sylvain Levi has stated that about 1000 B.C. the seafaring Proto-Malay gave India a pre-Dravidian civilisation still to be traced in place-names and outrigger boats. Therefore the Proto-Malay would have reached Ceylon long before recorded history, and Dr. Paranavitana is correct when he states that the name 'Hambantota', and other names of places beginning or ending with 'Malala' do not appear to be of recent origin.

Dr. R.O. Winstedt in his 'History of Malaya' states that some thousand years before Christ the Proto-Malay knew enough of seamanship, and stars to find his way to India in outrigger boats. The people of Malaya influenced Ceylon history not only during the times beginning from Mahinda IV and ending with Magha, but from the dawn of history and as Dr. Paranavitana says Chandrabānu's attempt to invade Ceylon was the result of a long historical process in which the people of Malayasia had played a very important part in the history of the Island. I hope that in his next paper Dr. Paranavitana will deal with all the evidence there is to connect the people of Malaya and Ceylon from 1000 B.C.'.

Obituary

Cyril Wace Nicholas

By the death of Cyril Wace Nicholas, which occurred on 14 August, 1961, the Society has lost one of its most valued members—one who has not only served as a Member of the Council and a Vice-President for a number of years, but also has made an outstanding contribution to the achievement of its aims.

C.W. Nicholas was born on 5 August, 1898 and received his early education at the Royal College. He proceeded for higher studies to the Cambridge University, but enlisted for service in the First World War before he could complete his course. His military career, though brief, was distinguished. From subaltern he was promoted as a Captain in the King's Royal Rifles, but at the end of two years was wounded and invalided out, being awarded the Military Cross. At the age of 22 he returned to Ceylon and took up the Special Civil Service Examination for War Service personnel. He passed this examination and was placed first on the list, but failed to secure an appointment to the Civil Service on medical grounds. He was, however, appointed an Assistant Superintendent of Excise, his first station being Batticaloa. He served meritoriously in the Excise Department and rose to be its Deputy Commissioner from which post he was seconded for service in 1950 as Warden of the Wild Life Department. C.W. Nicholas organised this newly created Department and remained as its head until he retired from Government Service in 1957. As Warden of the Wild Life Department, he was instrumental in establishing the National Parks and Strict Natural Reserves designed for the preservation of the Fauna and Flora of the Island.

Apart from such studies as were necessary for his official duties, C.W. Nicholas had been interested in the history and antiquities of the Island from his youth, and had made himself familiar with what had been written on these subjects. Ancient inscriptions of Ceylon particularly engaged his attention and in the course of his frequent visits, official as well as unofficial, to remote areas of the Island, he never missed an opportunity of visiting ancient sites and making eye-copies of rock-inscriptions in which, in course of time, he developed a remarkable aptitude. In this manner, Nicholas brought to light a number of cave and rock inscriptions which are of great significance for the study of the early history of Ceylon. Particular mention may be made of the cave inscription at Vala-ellugoda-kanda in the Badulla District, which mentions the General Phussadeva (a paladin of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi), and his daughter Nāgā, married to a general named Agidata who flourished in the reign of Saddhātissa and a cave inscription at Situlpavuva, which

contains the name of Velusumana, another of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's paladins. He had, in this manner, been of much assistance to the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon in its exploration work.

C.W. Nicholas made his debut as a writer on the history and antiquities of Ceylon rather late in life, much persuasion by his friends being necessary to overcome his innate modesty, but his contributions to the *University of Ceylon Review*, the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* and other publications impressed scholars by their systematic presentation of facts, and the critical acumen and rare historical sense exhibited by them. Among the more important of his papers may be mentioned:—'Epigraphical Map of Ceylon' in the *University of Ceylon Review (U.C.R.)*, Vol. VII, pp. 116-128, 'Territorial Divisions of Ceylon from Early Times to the 12th century' (*U.C.R.*, VII, pp. 20-50), 'Some Offices and Titles in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom' (*U.C.R.*, VIII, pp. 116-128), 'Brāhmaṇas in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom' (*U.C.R.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 259 ff.), 'Sinhalese Naval Power' (*U.C.R.*, XVI, pp. 78-92), 'Paleographical Development of the Brāhmī Script in Ceylon' (*U.C.R.*, VII, pp. 60-64), 'Texts of the Cave Inscriptions in Ruhuna National Park' in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, New Series (J.R.A.S., C.B., N.S.)*, Vol. II, pp. 126-140, 'Professions and Occupations in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom' (*J.R.A.S., C.B., N.S.*), Vol. II, pp. 35-71, 'Some Lesser Known pre-Christian Ruins' (*J.R.A.S., C.B., N.S.*, V, pp. 138-159), 'Texts of the Cave Inscriptions at Hiṇḍagala' in *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 221-224 and 'Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Yala East Wild Reserve' in *Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume*, pp. 58-68. In these papers, Nicholas had published the texts and translations of about 400 Brāhmī inscriptions, mostly pre-Christian cave records. Of outstanding value is 'A Short Account of the History of Irrigation Works up to the 11th century' (*J.R.A.S., C.B., N.S.*, VII, pp. 43-70) in which the development of irrigation in the Island has been treated for the first time in its proper historical perspective.

But the field of research in which Nicholas concentrated more particularly was historical topography. In this he continued the work of Codrington, and the results of his labours in this branch of study are given in his *'Historical Topography of Ancient and Mediaeval Ceylon'*, published as Volume VI, New Series, of the *J.R.A.S., C.B.* This monograph, in which toponyms found in the chronicles, published and unpublished inscriptions up to the eighth century, and other sources, are classified according to districts, giving their modern equivalents wherever possible, will no doubt remain the standard work on the subject for many years to come.

When the University of Ceylon planned the preparation and publication of an up-to-date History of Ceylon on comprehensive lines, Nicholas was invited to contribute a number of chapters to Volume I and to be a member of the Editorial Board. His contributions to this

Volume are the Sections on the Geographical Background and Fauna, respectively, of Chapters I and II of Book I, Chapter II, 'Liberation from the Cōla Yoke' Chapter III, 'The Reign of Vijayabāhu I' Chapter IV, 'Civil Wars and the Emergence of Parākramabāhu the Great' and Chapter V 'The Reign of Parākramabāhu I' of Book V (The Polonnaruva Period) and the sections on Irrigation in the chapters devoted to the Civilisation of the different periods. In the chapters dealing with the Polonnaruva Period, the military campaigns of Vijayabāhu I, Vikramabāhu and Parākramabāhu I have been dealt with for the first time in a coherent manner, Nicholas' early military training, his familiarity with the terrain and his topographical knowledge having enabled him to grasp the tactical and strategical significance of the long catalogue of actions at various places given in the *Cūlavamsa*.

Nicholas performed his functions as a member of the Editorial Board of the University *History of Ceylon* very conscientiously and expeditiously, and it was in no small measure due to his enthusiasm for the undertaking that the publication of Volume I was possible within a comparatively short time after the initiation of the project. Nicholas was joint-author of the *Concise History of Ceylon* which is mainly based on the more comprehensive work already referred to.

Nicholas was planning a number of learned papers when the sickness which carried him away overtook him. Having collaborated with him during the last five years in several literary undertakings, the present writer is in a position to say that great indeed has been the loss suffered by scholarship in Ceylon by his demise.

In recognition of his outstanding contribution to historical research, the Society had decided to award its Medal for 1960 to C.W. Nicholas, but Fate did not spare him for its formal presentation at the Annual General Meeting fixed for 1 September, 1961.

S.P.

Book Reviews

VOLUME OF SPECIMEN ARTICLES

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

The volume of specimen articles, the precursor of the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, is a happy augury to the ultimate success of the Magnum Opus. It is obvious to the reader that it is in itself a miniature encyclopaedia though the Editor-in-chief, Dr. G.P. Malalasekera, with his characteristic modesty states that 'it represents only a cross-section of the information included in the encyclopaedia'.

The wide range of references and the bibliography consulted by the Editors in the preparation of the book indicate that no pains have been spared by the Editors in the compilation of a book so indispensable to a student of Buddhism.

Much that was hitherto a closed chapter regarding Zen Buddhism and its peculiarities distinguishing it from other Buddhist sects has been brought to light in such a way as not to widen the gulf among them but to show their fundamental similarities. Biographical details of Bodhidharma and the part he played in the propagation of Zen Buddhism have been dealt with comprehensively in a spirit of understanding.

Writing about Buddhist architecture in Ceylon Dr. S. Paranavitana leaves nothing that is really worth knowing and sums up in picturesque language how the religion affected architecture. The account runs into several pages describing each appendage of ancient monastic architecture and the purpose it served, with his direct first-hand knowledge of the subject. 'Above all', says the learned doctor 'the architects who designed the more notable monuments did not forget that works were intended to take the minds of the spectator from the material to the spiritual plane and within the resources of their art they strove steadfastly for the realisation of this end.

The photographic illustrations of the Buddhist architecture in Ceylon — the twin ponds, sannipātasālā — lend an added interest to the articles on Architecture in Ceylon.

It is a matter of pride that all the subjects have been dealt with from the angle of Buddhism which is always kept in the foreground to the exclusion of other extraneous matters.

Perspective and a sense of proportion appear to have been brought into play in the preparation of the articles. It is a credit to the compilers of the encyclopaedia that they have observed the principle of 'Multum in Parvo'.

In the article on Asoka, History and Religion are blended so skilfully as to bring out the religious strand into prominence over the historical. In the summing-up of Asoka's contribution to Buddhism, H.G.A. Van Zvert says, 'He occupies a unique place amongst the rulers of the world. In the Buddhist history he ranks in importance only next to the Sākyamuni himself. How the Dhamma influenced the great emperor is stated in the message he left to his successors'. But should conquest be the result of war forced upon them they should find their delight in forbearance and light punishment, keeping in mind that the only victory is the victory of the Dhamma'.

The article on the Pacceka Buddhas brings out a vast array of facts hitherto unknown. That the encyclopaedia has broken new ground by research in the process of compilation is a conclusion that one cannot help forming.

Dealing with Positivism K.N. Jayatileka demonstrates its close affinity with Buddhism. He quotes many authors, such as Comte and Radhakrishnan to prove his case.

The article on Buddhism in Siam is both elaborate and comprehensive. It deals with the origin, the history and the major trends of Buddhism in the Buddhist country.

It is most fitting that a skeleton map indicating the cultural connections between India and Ceylon has been included in the book. The writer makes out a good case that Siam was a part and parcel of the Svarnabhūmi to which missionaries were sent after the conclusion of the Third Convocation. However the writer does not dogmatically state that his view is beyond all manner of doubt. That Ceylon and Siam had religious and cultural ties has been historically established.

The volume of specimen articles is proof that the editorial staff had undergone much travail in an attempt to meet a vital requirement which had been overdue for nearly a century. Scattered knowledge and hitherto unknown data have been systematically and laboriously collected, analysed, and compiled for the benefit of the readers.

To the student of Buddhism the Encyclopaedia will be a veritable boon and a treasure house of information regarding all aspects of Buddhism.

It will indeed, serve as the best monument erected in commemoration of the 2500th anniversary of the Parinibbāna of the peerless world teacher whose message of peace and goodwill is more needed now than ever before in a world torn by stress and strife.

MIRISSE GUNASIRI (THERO).

'A Philosophy for NEFA' by Verrier Elwin, Second Edition, 1959, pages 296, Rs. 5/-.

The author, in his usual inimitable style, presents a picture of the tribal people of the North-Eastern Frontier Province, which is now being administered as a special area. He brings to bear in this book all the knowledge of anthropological theory and its application as gathered in India, Africa and elsewhere. The book is intended for the administrator. It is written very sympathetically, but it does not lack the scientific precision of anthropological presentation. It is also a source book on a variety of subjects relating to the tribal people of this area.

The monograph furnishes a wealth of information culled by the author from personal experience and observation. He has presented this in very simple language without any technical elaboration. It is really a handbook and a guide book, not only to the administrator but also to the anthropologist. The hints he gives will certainly help the field worker, be he a collector of knowledge or a collector of revenue for the administration. His approach is essential and Verrier Elwin records it most charmingly from the point of view of the people of NEFA. It is a whole philosophy of the way of life. It is a scientific approach to the tribal problem.

The population of this area is nearly 25 million, and the people vary in their religious beliefs, cultural attainments, and physical and mental make up. Still most of them are in the pre-literate stage as regards their cultural level and live in a world of their own. The modern civilization of India must necessarily have a serious impact on these tribal people. This can lead to the general degeneration and final extinction or progressive development and final enrichment of India. The transition is delicate, difficult and dangerous. Hence Elwin shows the way with his encyclopaedic knowledge about men and matters of tribal India. This policy is determined by applied anthropology. Adopted for dealing with problematic human groups, fortunately his philosophy is in accord with the policy of the Indian Government, more so the policy of its Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru.

The book contains 8 Chapters. In these he presents the case for NEFA in all its aspects. The problem is highlighted, and the aims are set out nicely and artistically. He also goes into detail about the material considerations that affect this group of humanity. He deals with some of them under separate chapters. He believes them to be very important. These are dress, psychological aims, religious aims, social aims, and cultural aims. To all these he suggests solutions and these are practical, simple and beneficial. In his modest manner he calls it a book of practical problems and not of anthropology, but there is more anthropology of a very entertaining nature for the keen student of that subject. The policy which is reiterated is 'determined to help the tribal people to grow according to their own genius and tradition; it is not the intention to impose anything on them'. (Page 56). He reminds the people, particularly the administrators that 'history will judge us primarily on two things; how we solve the problems of tribal culture and how we deal with the problem of tribal land'. (Page 72). He believes that all progress and development in these areas should be guided and determined by the good and the good only of the people of this area. He cites the Buddha 'colourful and rich is India, lovable and charming is the life of man'. (Page 146).

It is a book worth reading by any average reader. It is a book that must be read by every lover of tribal peoples. It is a book which no administrator, whether in India or in any part of the world, should neglect. 'NEFA' offers a unique opportunity to every member of the Administration for it is attempting an exciting and unusual experiment which, if successful, will write a significant page in the history of civilization's dealings with primitive people. Elsewhere in the world, colonists have often gone into tribal areas for what they can get; the Government of India has gone into NEFA for what it can give. Whenever a new project is considered or policy proposed, the one criterion is whether it will be for the benefit of the tribal people. The keynote of the administration's policy indeed is this: 'the tribesmen first, the tribesmen last, the tribesmen all the time'. (Page 286).

May the administrator read this and apply the knowledge in the Field for it is indeed an inspiring document which embodies the right attitudes and the right intentions of man towards man, be he in India or elsewhere.

N.D. WIJESEKERA.

The Personality of India by Bendapudi Subbarao. 11 × 8½, pp. xii—135, 30 Figures. Published by the author for the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Baroda, 1956. Rs. 15/-.

Stone Age Industries of the Bombay and Satara District, by S.C. Malik. 11 × 8½, pp. x—68, 8 Plates and 29 Figures. Published by Prof. B. Subbarao for the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Baroda, 1959. Rs. 10/50.

These two publications, Nos. 3 and 4, respectively, of the M.S. University Archaeology Series, furnish evidence of the sustained interest that has been taken by archaeologists in India during recent years in prehistoric research. In spite of its rather unfortunate title, which might make one dismiss it as a quest of an illusive entity, the work by Prof. B. Subbarao has given a very valuable summary of the results so far achieved in this field of research. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who has contributed a Foreword, characterises the work as a brave and constructive attempt to set prehistoric and protohistoric India upon the map. In Sir Mortimer's words, a dozen years ago, it could not have been written; a dozen hence, it will have to be re-written, probably by Dr. Subbarao himself, Prof. Subbarao has

himself made a very valuable contribution to the advancement of knowledge in these studies by the field work that he has undertaken, and this systematic analysis and classification of the prehistoric and protohistoric cultures brought to light up to the time of the writing of this monograph will not only supply a book of ready reference to the interested student, but will stimulate further research in this direction.

The work of Mr. S.C. Malik contains a systematic account of the artefacts brought to light in exploring a number of prehistoric sites in the Bombay and Satara Districts. It shows that, in one direction, the prophecy made by Sir Mortimer while introducing Prof. Subbarao's work is being fulfilled. For among the artefacts discovered at one of the sites was 'a well-worked beer-bottle glasscore'. The bottle, the base of which supplied to the tool-maker the necessary raw material for his industry, is said to have been of a type which was first manufactured in Europe about the 17-18th century A.D. at the earliest. Mr. Malik does not flinch from arriving at the only possible conclusion from this find. He says: 'This evidence clearly points out, therefore, to the late survival of the Microlithic industry. The villagers and the local people in Mahabaleshwar confirm this by recalling that these microlithic sites were at one time the camping sites of tribal people'.

Both publications are profusely illustrated with drawings and maps.

S. PARANAVITANA.

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4. Dr. N.D. Wijesekera, Deputy Commissioner, Official Language Department, 22, Reid Avenue, Colombo 7.
5. Dr. A.W.P. Guruge, B.A., Ph.D., C.C.S., 37, Hampden Lane, Wellawatte.
6. Mr. C.B.P. Perera, O.B.E., B.Sc., C.C.S., 69, Green Path, Colombo 7.
7. Mr. W.J.F. LaBrooy, B.A., High School Bungalow, Kandy.
8. Ven. Mirisse Gunasiri Theor, B.A., 114, McCarthy Road, Colombo 7.
9. Rev. Fr. Xavier Thani Nayagam, S.J., University of Ceylon, Peradeniya.
10. Mr. G.B. Jackson, M.A. (Cantab.), P.O. Box, No. 18, Colombo.
11. Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, 29/2, Sri Dharmapala Road, Mt. Lavinia.
12. Mr. S.J. Kadirgamar, 'Lalitha', No. 17, Queen's Road, Colombo 3.

Annual Report for 1959

Meetings and Papers

One General Meeting and 4 Council Meetings were held during the year. The Annual General Meeting was held on 14th August, 1959, when the President, Dr. S. Paranavitana, presided. The Annual Report and the Hony. Treasurer's Report were read. A paper entitled 'Ceylon and Malayasia in Medieval Times' was read by the outgoing President, Dr. S. Paranavitana. At a General Meeting held on 16th January, 1960, a paper entitled 'Mahadanamutta Stories' was read by Rt. Rev. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., D.D.

Members

The Society has now on its Roll 477 members of whom 6 are Hony Members, 105 Life Members, 351 Ordinary Resident Members and 15 Ordinary Non-Resident Members.

The above figures include —

- 53 new members admitted during the year,
- 1 resignation in 1959,
- 6 members removed from the Roll of Members for non-payment of subscription for 4 years and over.

Council

Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., D.D., was elected President in place of Dr. S. Paranavitana, who retired under Rule 17.

Sir Nicholas Attygalle was elected Vice-President and Rev. Mirisse Gunasiri Thero, Mr. W.J.F. LaBrooy, Rev. Fr. Thani Nayagam, Mr. S.J. Kadirgamar and Dr. A.W.P. Guruge were elected to fill other vacancies on the Council. Mr. A.R. Tampoe was re-elected Hony. Secretary and Mr. K.O. Koelmeyer elected as co-Hony. Secretary. Al-Hajj A.H.M. Ismail was re-elected to the office of Hony. Treasurer.

Grant

A sum of Rs. 6,000/- was received from the Government by way of grant for the Financial Year 1959/60.

Library

The additions to the Library numbered 140. This figure does not include periodicals received by way of exchange or donations. A list of all such periodicals and donations are published annually in the Society's Journal.

Publications

Journal Vol. VI (Special Number) containing exclusively Mr. C.W. Nicholas' paper on 'The Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon' was issued during the year. Vol. VII Part I was issued in March, this year. In view of high printing costs, it was decided to raise the price of Vol. VI (Special No.) from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 7/50. Even at this price the entire stock has been sold out.

Missions Abroad

Indian History Congress — 22nd Session.—The Congress was held at Gauhati, Assam, from 27th to 29th December, 1959. In response to the invitation sent by the Hony. General Secretary, the Council elected Mr. B.J. Perera and Dr. Laksh-

man Perera of the University to represent the Society at the Congress. Dr. Perera was unfortunately not able to go and Mr. B.J. Perera represented the Society.

Representation on Local Committees

National Co-ordinating Committee, UNESCO.—Mr. K.O. Koelmeyer was elected to represent the Society on the Co-ordinating Committee of UNESCO whose aim is to promote Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values.

Sri Lanka Sahitya Mandalaya.—Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., D.D., was appointed to serve on the above Mandalaya in terms of Section 7(2)(c) of the Sri Lanka Sahitya Mandalaya Act No. 13 of 1958.

Ceylon National Commission for UNESCO.—Mr. R.L. Brohier, O.B.E., was elected to serve on the above Commission for the Three Year Period, 1959-1962.

Honorary Treasurer's Report for 1959

The Society's finances for the year under review showed an excess of Income over Expenditure of Rs. 3,559/09 cts.

The Bank balances were—

1. State Bank of India	Rs. 7,305.74
2. Reserve a/c. Ceylon Savings Bank	„ 2,755.32
3. Chalmers Oriental Text Fund	„ 2,122.02
4. Society Medal Fund	„ 2,125.75
5. Chinese Records Translation Fund	„ 3,864.95

Income

Our receipts for the year mainly comprised of members' subscriptions.

1. Subscriptions for 1959	Rs. 3,586.11
2. Arrears of Subscriptions	„ 705.00
3. Entrance Fees	„ 260.00
4. Fees paid in Advance	„ 195.00

Five (5) members were removed from the Roll of Members for non-payment of subscription and, in consequence, a sum of Rs. 225/- was written off as irrecoverable. A sum of Rs. 1,461/50 due as subscriptions for 1959 remained unpaid at the end of the year. It would be greatly appreciated if members would pay in their subscriptions regularly and promptly as this would save much clerical labour and also postage incurred on account of frequent reminders. A sum of Rs. 2,530/79 was collected by the sale of the Society's Journals.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at

LIABILITIES	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
Accumulated Fund :				
As at 31st December, 1958 ..	15,952	46		
Add: Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ..	3,559	09	19,511	55
Current Liabilities :				
Pope & Co. ..	250	00		
Subscriptions paid in Advance	226	34		
B. F. Stevens & Brown ..	1	22	477	56
Sundry Funds—per Contra:				
Society Medal Fund				
As at 31st December, 1958 Rs. 2,074.00				
Add: Interest for the year „ 51.75	2,125	75		
Chalmer's Oriental Text Fund:				
As at 31st December, 1958 Rs. 2,041.02				
Add: Interest and deposits of Extended Mahavansa „ 81.00	2,122	02		
Chinese Records Translation Fund :				
As at 31st December, 1958 Rs. 3,770.70				
Add: Interest for the year „ 94.25	3,864	95	8,112	72
	Rs.		28,101	83

EDMUND PEIRIS, O.M.I.,
President.

A. H. M. ISMAIL,
Honorary Treasurer.

(CEYLON BRANCH)

31st December, 1959

ASSETS	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
Fixed Assets :				
As at 31st December, 1958 ..	7,308	63		
Less: Depreciation ..	294	42		
	7,014	21		
Add: Additions during the year ..	20	00	7,034	21
Current Assets :				
Sundry Debtors				
Subscription ..	1,461	50		
Subscription due in 1958 and earlier	976	32		
J. R. Maxwell & Co., Ltd. ..	1	11		
Baily Bros. & Swinfer Ltd. ..	3	76		
Maruzan & Co. ..	11	48		
Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co.		35	2,454	52
Cash and Bank Balances				
State Bank of India ..	7,305	74		
Cash in Hand ..	38	58		
Stamps in Hand ..	8	24		
Ceylon Savings Bank:				
As at 31st December, 1958 Rs. 2,688.20				
Add: Interest for the year „ 67.12	2,755	32	10,107	88
Loans				
To Staff ..	122	50		
	270	00	392	50
Sundry Funds—per Contra				
Society Medal Fund ..	2,125	75		
Chalmer's Oriental Text Fund ..	2,122	02		
Chinese Records Translation Fund ..	3,864	95	8,112	72
	Rs.		28,101	83

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1959. We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. We have not seen confirmations from Members for subscriptions in arrear. Subject to this and to our Report of even date, in our opinion the above Balance Sheet correctly exhibits the position as at 31st December, 1959, according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the financial books.

POPE & CO. }
Chartered Accountants. } Auditors.

Colombo, 7th July, 1960.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Income and Expenditure Account for

EXPENDITURE	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
To General Account :				
Audit Expenses	17	80		
Salaries	3,980	00		
Arrears Written off	225	00		
Bank Charges	19	94		
Maintenance of Typewriter	24	00		
Lectures and Meetings	23	50		
Cycle Allowance	60	00		
Printings & Stationery	505	20		
Travelling	19	80		
Sundries	124	30		
Bonus	40	00		
Debit Tax	17	32		
Income Tax	61	00		
Commission on Sale of Journals	496	10		
Audit Fees	250	00		
Postage	333	55	6,197	51
„ Government Grant Account :				
Printing of Journals	4,200	00		
Purchase of Books	4,924	89		
Binding	209	00	9,333	89
„ Depreciation			294	42
„ Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year			3,559	09
		Rs.	19,384	91

(CEYLON BRANCH)

the Year Ended 31st December, 1959

INCOME	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
By General Account :				
Annual Subscriptions	5,362	50		
Entrance Fees	260	00		
Donations	10	50		
Savings Bank Interest	67	12		
Life Membership Fees	654	00		
Sale of Literature	2,530	79	8,884	91
„ Government Grant			10,500	00
		Rs.	19,384	91

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Receipts and Payments Account for

RECEIPTS	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
To Balance on 1st January, 1959 :				
State Bank of India ..	3,077	72		
Ceylon Savings Bank ..	2,688	20		
Cash in Hand ..	29	89		
Stamps in Hand ..	22	56	5,818	37
„ General Account :				
Life Members Fees ..	654	00		
Arrears of Subscription ..	705	00		
Subscriptions for 1959 ..	3,586	11		
Entrance Fees ..	260	00		
Fees paid in Advance ..	195	00		
Sale of Journals ..	2,530	79		
Donations ..	10	50		
Ceylon Savings Bank Interest ..	67	12	8,008	52
„ Chalmer's Oriental Text Fund:				
Deposits of Sale of Extended Mahavansa ..			30	00
„ Government Grant ..			12,000	00
	Rs.		25,856	89

(CEYLON BRANCH)

the Year Ended 31st December, 1959

PAYMENTS	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
By General Account :				
Salaries ..	3,862	50		
Audit Fees ..	250	00		
Printing and Stationery ..	505	20		
Postage ..	333	55		
Lectures and Meetings ..	23	50		
Travelling ..	19	80		
Bank Charges ..	20	05		
Bonus to Peon ..	40	00		
Audit Expenses ..	17	80		
Cycle Allowance ..	60	00		
Maintenance of Typewriter ..	24	00		
Income Tax Paid ..	61	00		
Sundries ..	124	30		
Debit Tax ..	17	32		
Commission on Sale of Journals..	496	10		
Deposit of Sale of Extended Mahavansa in Chalmer's Oriental Text Fund ..	30	00	5,885	12
„ Loans :				
To Staff ..	300	00		
	210	00	510	00
„ Government Grant Account:				
Purchase of Books ..	4,924	89		
Binding ..	209	00		
Printing of Journals ..	4,200	00		
Purchase of Furniture ..	20	00	9,353	89
„ Bank Balance as at 31st December, 1959 :				
State Bank of India ..	7,305	74		
Ceylon Savings Bank ..	2,755	32		
Cash in Hand ..	38	58		
Stamps in Hand ..	8	24	10,107	88
	Rs.		25,856	89

Abstract of Proceedings

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held on the 25th July, 1958, in King George V Hall, University of Ceylon, Thurstan Road, Colombo 3.

Present.—Dr. S. Paranavitana, President, in the Chair, and 60 members and visitors.

1. Minutes.—The Minutes of the General Meeting of 11-4-58 were read and confirmed.

2. Business arising from the Minutes.—Nil.

3. Annual Report.—Dr. G.C. Mendis moved the adoption of the Report — carried.

4. Audited Statement of Accounts.—The President moved the adoption of the Report. Adopted and carried nem. con.

5. Donations.—A list of donations received since the General Meeting of 11-4-58, was tabled.

6. Acquisitions.—A list of books acquired since the General Meeting of 11-4-58, was tabled.

7. New Members.—The names of 4 members elected since the General Meeting of 11-4-58 were announced.

8. Election of Office-Bearers.—The following office-bearers were elected:—

Council Members

1. Dr. Nanda Deva Wijesekera
2. Mr. G.B. Jackson
3. Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty
4. Mr. R.L. Brohier (re-elected)
5. Dr. H.W. Tambiah (re-elected)

Honorary Secretaries

1. Mr. A.R. Tampoe (re-elected)
2. Mrs. Esmee Rankine (re-elected)

Honorary Treasurer

Al-Hajj A.H.M. Ismail (re-elected).

9. Presidential Address.—Dr. S. Paranavitana delivered a lecture on 'Bodhigharas and Asanagharas', which was illustrated with slides.

10. Vote of Thanks.—Dr. Balendra proposed a cordial Vote of Thanks to the President for his excellent lecture which was thoroughly enjoyed by all. He expressed the hope that the President would in the near future publish in book form all his works and experiences so that it would be available to posterity fifty or hundred years later.

Sir Edwin Wijeyeratne seconded the Vote of Thanks which brought the proceedings to a close.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at 5-15 p.m. on 21-11-58 at the Society's Library, University Buildings, Thurstan Road, Colombo 3.

Present.—Dr. S. Paranavitana, President, in the Chair, and 9 members.

1. Minutes.—The Minutes of the Meeting of 22-6-58, which had previously been circulated, were confirmed.

2. Election of New Members.—The following candidates were elected Ordinary Resident Members of the Society:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Mr. D.A. de Costa | 2. Mr. D.L. Welikala |
| 3. Mr. J. Padmanabha | 4. Dr. Heinz Bechert |
| 5. Mr. L. Lokuliyana | 6. Mr. W.F. Abeyakoon |
| 7. Mr. M.D. Amarasinghe | 8. Mr. C.S. Ranasooriya |
| 9. Mr. G.M. de S. Wijeysekera | 10. Mr. R.G.J. Ranatunge |
| 11. Rev. Kahaduwe Chandajoti | 12. Rev. B. Wimalabuddhi Thero |
| 13. Mr. G.A. Gnanamuttu | 14. Mr. M. Idaikkadar |
| 15. Rev. Fr. J. Alexander Fernando. | |

In the case of Mr. R. de S. Thenabadu, Council decided to inform him that as his name was removed from the Roll of Members under Rule 33 for non-payment of subscription for the years 1954 and 1955, he should pay up all his arrears before he could be enrolled again.

In the case of Mr. K.G. Gunatilaka, Council directed that his sponsors be written to inquiring whether they were personally acquainted with the candidate and could vouch for his observance of the Rules of the Society. This inquiry was being made as Council had observed that in recent years a large number of candidates who had been elected failed to pay their subscriptions, and Council felt that a certain amount of discrimination must be used in selecting new members.

3. Books purchased.—A list of books purchased since the Council Meeting of 22-6-58 was tabled.

4. Donations.—A list of donations received since the Council Meeting of 22-6-58 was tabled.

5. Resignations.—

1. *Mr. E.V.R. Samerawickrema.* Council accepted his resignation with much regret and directed that the thanks of the Council be conveyed to him for the services he had rendered to the Society.
2. *Mr. Morgan Davies.* Council accepted his resignation with much regret, and directed that its thanks be conveyed to him for his message of good wishes.

6. Members in arrears of subscription.—Council authorised the removal of 3 names from the Roll of Members for non-payment of Entrance Fees and subscriptions and the write-off of the amounts due from each of them.

7. Resignation of Mr. D.C.R. Gunewardena from Council.—Read letter from Mr. D.C.R. Gunewardena intimating his resignation from Council on his appointment as Ambassador for Ceylon in Malaya. Council resolved that its thanks be conveyed to Mr. Gunewardena for his advice and encouragement during his tenure of office and also that his services to the Society are greatly appreciated.

8. **Presidential Lecture.**—Read letter from Mr. L.P.N. Perera regarding the publication of President's lecture delivered at the last Annual General Meeting.

9. **Exchange of Publications.**—Read letter from Indologisches Institut der Universität Wien requesting information and literature on Ceylon. Council directed that the University be placed on the Society's free exchange list.

10. **D'Oyly's Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom.**—Council directed that a letter be addressed to the Historical Manuscripts Commission asking whether they could take photostats of the above manuscript.

11. Book Reviews.—

- (1) *Suttasamgaha* by Sri R.P. Chaudhuri and Sri D. Guha. Dr. Nanda Deva Wijesekera undertook to review the above publication.
- (2) *The Catholic Church in Ceylon under Dutch Rule* by Rev. Fr. R. Boudens, O.M.I. (Life Member): The book was originally referred to Mr. W.J.F. LaBrooy for review but in view of his sudden departure from the island, Dr. G.C. Mendis undertook to furnish a review.

12. **Non-return of Library Books.**—The position was reported. Council considered that an amendment of the Rules was necessary as there was no provision in the existing Rules for punishment of habitual defaulters. Decided to appoint a sub-Committee at the next meeting to revise the Rules for submission at the Annual General Meeting.

13. **Payment of outstanding balance to M/s. Colombo Apothecaries.** Council authorised the payment of the balance, viz. Rs. 950/—, in respect of the reprinting of Journal No. 14.

14. **Journal Vol. V(1).**—Covering sanction was granted by Council for the free issue of the above Journal to Mr. Mode at the instance of President.

15. **'The Decline of the Medieval Sinhalese Kingdom'.**—Council authorised the publication of the above paper which formed the subject of a lecture delivered by the late Mr. H.W. Codrington before the Royal Society of Great Britain and Ireland on 11th March, 1937, in the next issue of the Society's Journal for which permission had been obtained from the Parent Society.

16. **Mr. J.B. Sanders, ex-Librarian.**—Council regretted that it could not accede to the request of Mr. Sanders.

17. Papers for publication in the Society's Journal.—Laid on the table—

- (1) Mr. D.T. Devendra's paper entitled 'The Palace on a Single Column'. Council resolved to accept the paper for publication in the Journal.
- (2) Mr. Paulinus Tambimuttu's paper entitled 'Roads in Ancient Ceylon'—Council directed that the paper be referred to Mr. C.W. Nicholas for his opinion as to its suitability for publication in the Society's Journal.

18. **Director-General of Broadcasting.**—Council directed that the Brief on the activities of the Society as prepared by the Secretary be referred to Dr. G.C. Mendis for 'vetting'.

19. Any other business.—

1. *Resignation of Major R. Raven-Hart.* Council accepted with regret the resignation of Major R. Raven-Hart.
2. Laid on the table the following papers:
 - (a) 'A Short Account of the History of Irrigation Works up to the 11th century' by Mr. C.W. Nicholas.

Council resolved to accept and publish the above paper as Dr. Mendis to whom it was referred had reported on the excellence of the paper.

(b) *Mahadannamutta Stories* by Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I. Resolved to accept it as one to be read at a General Meeting to be convened early.

(c) 'Sinhalese Roads in the 16th Century' by Major R. Raven-Hart. Resolved to accept the paper for publication as it had already been read at a General Meeting.

3. *Book Review.* Resolved to accept and publish the review of 'Myths of the North-East Frontier of India' submitted by Dr. Nandadeva Wijesekera.

4. *Indian History Congress.* Read letter from the General Secretary inviting delegates from the Society to attend the 21st Session of the Indian History Congress to be held at Trivandrum. Council directed that a circular letter be addressed to all members of Council and other members of the Society as to whether they are willing to participate in the Congress and to select two members from those willing to represent the Society.

5. *Members in arrears of subscription.* Council directed that 6 names be removed from the List of Members and that the amounts due from them be written off.

In the case of 6 other members personal letters be written to them and if they failed to evoke any response, Council would consider removing their names also from the Roll of Members at the next meeting.

6. *Election of Honorary Members.* Deferred for next meeting.

7. *Reprinting of 'The Sinhalese Grammar' by Geiger.* Council directed that quotations be called for from Messrs. Colombo Apothecaries' and Saman Press.

8. *Supply of folding canvas chairs to the Library.* Read letter from Mr. B.D. Fernando suggesting that a few folding canvas chairs be purchased for the Library for the use of members doing reference work. Council regretted that it could not accede to this request as this type of seating accommodation is not usually found in Libraries.

9. *Resignation of Honorary Secretary, Mrs. Esmee Rankine.* Council accepted with much reluctance the resignation of Mrs. Esmee Rankine, Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at 5-15 p.m. on 27-2-59 at the Society's Library, University Buildings, Thurstan Road, Colombo 3.

Present.—Dr. S. Paranavitana, President, in the Chair, and 7 Members.

1. Minutes.—The Minutes of the Meeting of 22-11-58 were confirmed.

2. Election of New Members.—The following candidates were elected Ordinary Resident Members of the Society:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. U.B. Dissanayake, Ratemahatmaya | 2. Mr. C. Silva |
| 3. Mr. T.G. Punchi Appuhamy | 4. Mr. K.K. Poornananda |
| 5. Mr. A.D. Baptist | 6. Mr. Walter Silva |
| 7. Mr. K.S. Fernando | 8. Rev. G.W.W. Sri Dheerananda Thero |
| 9. Mr. E.A. Wijeratne | 10. Mr. E. Muttukumaru |
| 11. Dr. J.G.R. Thambyahpillay | 12. Rev. G. Visuddhananda |
| 13. Mr. N. Mudiyanse | 14. Mr. K.S. Perera |
| 15. Miss. H.D.S. Hettige | 16. Miss. C. de L. Kariyawasam |
| 17. Mr. Hugh Fernando | 18. The Librarian, Vidyalandara Pirivena University. |

3. Books Purchased.—A list of books purchased since the Council Meeting of 21-11-58 was tabled.

4. Donations.—A list of donations received since the Council Meeting of 21-11-58 was tabled.

5. Resignations.—Council accepted with regret the resignation of Mr. A.E. Christoffels, C.M.G.

6. Election of Council Members.—Mr. S.J. Kadirgamar was elected to the Council vice Mr. C. Nagalingam (Q.C.) deceased.

7. Election of Honorary Members.—Deferred.

8. Book Review.—Council directed that the book entitled 'Classical Sinhalese Sculpture' by D.T. Devendra be referred to Dr. N.D. Wijesekera for favour of review.

9. Sri Lanka Sahitya Mandalaya.—Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Bishop of Chilaw, was elected to serve on the above Mandalaya.

10. Subscription to the International Journal of Indian Art 'Rupam'. Council considered that subscribing to the above Journal was completely out of the question as the rate of subscription was too high.

11. Any other business.—

1. *Revision of Rules of Society.* Deferred.
2. *Exchange of Publications.* Council regretted that the publication entitled 'The Universal Mother' was not worthy of exchange or review in the Society's Journal.
3. *Election of Mr. Hugh Fernando, M.P. for Nattandiya.* Vide item 2 of page 1.
4. Laid on the table the following:
 - (a) A letter from the Librarian of the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya regarding the issue of the following publications:
Ceylon — Papers relating to the Affairs of Ceylon; and
Report of the Select Committee on Ceylon 1850-1 with Appendix

to Mr. K.M. de Silva, Asst. Lecturer in History of the University. Council decided that it was not correct to issue to Mr. Silva the above volumes in his personal capacity as the books concerned are of extreme rarity and value. Mr. Silva should, however, be informed that if the Librarian of the University made a personal application, Council would be obliged to lend the volumes to him, provided he arranged for their removal and safe return.

- (b) Letter from Mr. R.L. Brohier re Mr. P. Tambimuttu's Paper on 'Roads in Ancient Ceylon'.

Council directed that it should await the issue of the Special Number of the Journal which contains exclusively an article by Mr. C.W. Nicholas in which the same subject has been dealt with, and refer back papers to Mr. Brohier for further comment.

Minutes of the General Meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at 5-30 p.m. on 16th January, 1959, at the Colombo Museum Lecture Hall.

Present.—Dr. G.C. Mendis, Vice-President, presided in the absence of the President. There were present over 50 members and visitors.

1. Minutes.—The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of 25th July, 1958, were read and confirmed.

2. Business arising from the Minutes.—Nil.

3. Donations.—A list of donations received since the Annual General Meeting of 25-7-58, was tabled.

4. Acquisitions.—A list of books purchased since the Annual General Meeting of 25-7-58, was tabled.

5. New Members.—The names of 15 members elected since the Annual General Meeting of 25-7-58, were announced.

6. Lecture.—Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., D.D., senior Vice-President, read a paper on 'Mahadanamutta Stories'. A discussion followed in which several members and visitors participated.

7. Vote of Thanks.—Mr. R.L. Brohier proposed a cordial Vote of Thanks to the learned lecturer which brought the proceedings to a close.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at 5-15 p.m. on 10th July 1959 at the Society's Library, University Buildings, Thurstan Road, Colombo 3.

Present.—Dr. S. Paranavitana in the Chair and 9 Members.

1. Minutes.—The Minutes of the Meeting of 27-2-59, which had previously been circulated, were confirmed.

2. Election of New Members.—The following candidates were elected Ordinary Resident Members of the Society.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Mr. P.H. Wilson Peiris | 2. Mr. S. Aryasinghe |
| 3. Mr. Dayawansa Lekamge | 4. Rev. Kahangama Medhankara |
| 5. Rev. Y. Gunananda Thero | 6. Mr. D.P.H.P. Abeysekera |

7. Dr. K. Rajasuriya
8. Rev. Fr. Don Benedict Haturusinghe, O.M.I.
9. Mrs. Sucilla Jayakoddy
10. Mr. K. Amaratunga
11. Mr. Jayananda Ratnaike
12. Mr. Ibrahim Rasheed (Non-Resident).

3. **Books purchased.**—A list of books purchased since the Council Meeting of 27-2-59, was tabled.

4. **Donations.**—A list of donations received since the Council Meeting of 27-2-59, was tabled.

5. **Resignations.**—Nil.

6. **Nomination of Office-bearers.**—The following were recommended for election to vacancies on the Council:

President:— Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., vice Dr. S. Paranavitana who retired under Rule 17.

Vice-President:— Sir Nicholas Attygalle vice Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris who is nominated as President.

Council Members:—

1. Rev. Fr. Thani Nayagam
2. Mr. W.J.F. LaBrooy
3. Rev. Mirisse Gunasiri Thero
4. Dr. A.W.P. Guruge.

Honorary Secretaries:—The re-election of

1. Mr. A.R. Tampoe who retired under Rule 19 and the election of
2. Mr. K.O. Koelmeyer by vacancy caused by the resignation of Mrs. Esmee Rankine.

Honorary Treasurer:— The re-election of

Al-Hajj A.H.M. Ismail who retired under Rule 19.

7. **Audited Statement of Accounts.**—The Honorary Treasurer presented the audited statement of accounts which was accepted for submission to the Annual General Meeting.

8. **Draft Annual Reports.**—The draft Annual Report was read by the Honorary Secretary and adopted subject to amendments.

The Honorary Treasurer's Report also was accepted subject to certain deletions.

9. **Annual General Meeting.**—The Council resolved that the Annual General Meeting should be held at 5-30 p.m. on 31st July 1959 at the Colombo Museum Lecture Hall. The President announced that he would read a paper on 'Ceylon and Malayasia in Mediaeval Times'. It was decided that printed copies of the paper be made available to those members who desire to participate in the discussion on the paper.

10. **Messrs. Pope & Co., Auditors.**—Council approved the payment of the sum of Rs. 267.80 to Messrs. Pope & Co. for auditing the Society's Accounts and for preparing the Balance Sheet.

11. **Dearness Allowance.**—Council authorised the payment of Dearness Allowance at Government rates to the peon with effect from 1st May, 1959, the date of his marriage.

12. **Life Members.**—Council was informed that Mr. Leo L. Baggerly has expressed a desire that he be transferred to the List of Non-Resident Life Members as from 1-1-1960.

13. **Printing of Special Number of Journal.**—Tabled bill from Messrs. Apothecaries', Printers, for Rs. 4,200/- being the printing costs of Journal Vol. VI (Special Number). Council directed that Messrs. Apothecaries' be written to expressing disappointment at the manner in which the Journal had been printed. It was also decided that in view of the high cost of printing the Journal in question, the price should be increased from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 7.50 per copy. Council also directed that a correction be made on the cover of each Journal in respect of the change of price. It was further resolved to call for an estimate from Messrs. Apothecaries for printing the next issue of the Journal, viz. Vol. VII Part I which is now in hand.

14. **Advance of Salary to Staff.**—Council considered the request of the staff in regard to the payment of an advance of salary in deserving cases and authorised the Honorary Treasurer to grant loans up to 3 months' salary to those employees with a minimum of 2 years' service. The recovery of the loan in monthly instalments was to be left to the discretion of the Honorary Secretaries.

15. **UNESCO Major Project to Promote Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values.**—Mr. K.O. Koelmeyer, Honorary Secretary, was elected to serve on the co-ordinating Committee of the above project.

16. **'Roads in Ancient Ceylon' by P. Tambimuttu.**—The Honorary Secretary read a letter from Mr. R.L. Brohier to whom the above paper was sent for comment. Council directed that Mr. Tambimuttu be informed that it is regretted that his article could not be published in the Journal as the subject has been dealt with by Mr. C.W. Nicholas in his article entitled 'Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon'.

17. **Obituary Notice.**—Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., undertook to prepare an Appreciation of Sir Paul Pieris for publication in the next issue of the Society's Journal.

18. **Exchange of Publications.**—Resolved to place on the Society's Free Exchange List the Korean Branch of the R.A.S.

19. **Members in arrears of subscription.**—Resolved to remove from the Roll of Members, 3 members who are in arrears of subscription for 4 years and to whom repeated appeals for settlement had not evoked any response, and to write-off the amounts due from each of them.

20. Council authorised the write-off of the sum of Rs. 15/- due as subscription for the current year from the late Ven. K. Gunaratana Nayake Thero who died in January this year.

21. **Mr. S.J. Gunesagaram.**—Read letter from Mr. S.J. Gunesagaram forwarding comments on:

1. *Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon* by Mr. C.W. Nicholas. Council directed that no action was necessary as these comments have already been published in the Press.
2. *Mahabharata Legends in the Mahavamsa* by Dr. G.C. Mendis. Council directed that the comments be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Mr. R.L. Brohier and Dr. G.C. Mendis, for report.

22. Book Reviews.—Council directed that Dr. N.D. Wijesekera and Rev. Fr. Perniola be written to asking whether they would undertake to review the following publications:

1. A Philosophy for NEFA by Verrier Elwin to Dr. Wijesekera.
2. Laksmi-Tantra (Sanskrit) by Pandit B. Krishnamacharya to Rev. Fr. Perniola.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE — PERIOD 1-10-58 TO 30-9-59

America

- Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia (1) Proceedings — Vol. CX, 1958.
(2) Notulae Naturae, Nos. 304 — 312.
- John Hopkins University American Journal of Philology — Vols. 79 (4), 80(1), 80(2).
- Library of Congress Bibliography of Periodical Literature on the Near and Middle East, Nos. 48 and 49.
- American Oriental Society Journal — Vol. 78, Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. 79, Nos. 1 and 2.
- Smithsonian Institute *Miscellaneous Collections*:—Vol. 119, No. 3, Vol. 135, Nos. 1 and 9, Vol. 136, No. 2, Vol. 137 (whole volume), Vol. 138, Nos. 1—4, Vol. 139, Nos. 1, 2 and 4 and Annual Report 1957.
- Bureau of American Ethnology*:—Bulletin Nos. 168, 169, 170 and 171 and 75th Annual Report, 1957 — 1958.
- Smithsonian contributions to Astrophysics*:—Vol. 2, Nos. 11, 12 — 13, Vol. 3, Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 5.
- Freer Gallery of Art — Occasional Papers*:—Vol. 3, No. 1.
- United States Geological Survey*; 5th Edition.
- California Academy of Sciences Proceedings, 4th Series—Vol. 27 and Index. Vol. 28, Nos. 14, 15 and 16, Vol. 29, Nos. 1 — 12.

Australia

- Royal Geographical Society of Australia Proceedings — Vol. 59.
- Royal Asiatic Society of New South Wales Journal and Proceedings — Vol. 92, Parts 1 to 3.

Burma

- Archaeological Survey Report for year ending 30-9-56.

Ceylon

- Archaeological Commissioner Administration Report, 1958.
- Ceylon Forrester Vol. 3, Nos. 3 and 4 (New Series), Vol. 1, Nos. 1 — 4, Vol. 2, Nos. 1 — 4, Vol. 3, Nos. 1 — 4.
- Department of Census Census of Ceylon, 1953, Vol. 2, Parts 1, 2 and 3; Census of Ceylon, 1953 — Tamil. Ceylon Year Book, 1958: Statistical Abstract of Ceylon, 1958. Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics, Vol. 9, Nos. 1 — 4.

- Department of Commerce .. Ceylon Trade Journal — Vol. 23, Nos. 8—12, Vol. 24, Nos. 1—7.
- Department of Wild Life .. Administration Report for 1958.
- Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon .. Journal — Vol. 48, Nos. 2, 3 and 4; Vol. 49, Nos. 1—4.
- Engineering Association of Ceylon .. Transactions for 1958.
- Government Archivist .. Administration Report for 1958.
- Information Department .. (1) Ceylon Today — Vol. 7, Nos. 8—12, Vol. 8, No. 1.
(2) Sri Lanka (Sinh.) Vol. 10, Nos. 8—12. Sri Lanka (Tamil) Vol. 10, Nos. 6—10.
- National Museums of Ceylon .. Spolia Zeylanica — Vol. 28, Part 2. The Pleistocene of Ceylon.
- University of Ceylon .. (1) Review — Vol. 16, Nos. 3 and 4.
(2) Ceylon Journal of Science, Biological Sciences — Vol. 1, No. 2.

Czechoslovakia

- Czechoslovakia Oriental Institute Archiv Orientalni — Vol. 26, Nos. 3—4. Vol. 27, No. 1.

Denmark

- Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabsnernes Selskab .. Historisk Filologiske Meddelelser — Bind 37, No. 4.
Filosofiske Meddelelser — Bind 4, No. 1.

England

- Eastern World, London .. Vol. 12, Nos. 9—12, Vol. 13, Nos. 1—8.
- Imperial Chemical Industries .. Endeavour — Vol. 17, No. 68; Vol. 18, Nos. 69—71.
- India Office Library .. Catalogue — Vol. 2, Part 1. Report for the year ended 31-3-1957.
- Institute of Historical Research .. Bulletin — Vol. 31, Nos. 83 and 84.
Bulletin — Vol. 32, No. 85.
Annual Reports, 36th and 37th.
Theses Supplement, No. 20.
- John Rylands Library, Manchester Bulletin — Vol. 41, Nos. 1 and 2.
Bulletin — Vol. 42, No. 1.
- Royal Anthropological Institute .. Man — Vol. LVIII Arts: 187—275.
Vol. LIX, Arts: 1—176.
- Royal Asiatic Society (Great Britain and Ireland) .. Journal, 1958, Parts 3 and 4.
Journal, 1959, Parts 1 and 2.
- Royal Empire Society .. United Empire — Vol. 1, Nos. 3 and 4.
Vol. 2, Nos. 2 and 3 (N.S.).
- Royal Geographical Society .. Journal — Vol. CXXIV, Part 3.
Vol. CXXV, Part 1.
- School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London .. Bulletin — Vol. 21, Part 3; Vol. 22, Parts 1 and 2.

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- Société Asiatique, Paris .. Journal — CCXLV — Nos. 2, 3 and 4.
Journal — CCXLVI — Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

Germany

- Baessler-Archiv Beiträge zur Völkerkunde, Berlin .. Neue Folge Band VI (xxxI) Heft 1 and 2, Band VII, Heft 1.

Holland

- Koninklijke Instituut voor Taal, Land-En Volkenkunde .. Bijdragen — Deel 114, Nos. 3 and 4.
Deel 115, Nos. 1 and 2.

Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde

- Mededelingen — Deel 21, Nos. 6—12.
Deel 22, Nos. 1—4.

- Rijksterbarium, Leiden .. Blumea — Vol. 9, No. 2, Jubilee Vol. 1958.
- Verslagen, Omtrent 5 Rijks Oude Archieven .. Tweede — Serie XXX.

Hungary

- Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae Acta Orientalia .. Tomus VII — Fasc. 2—3.
Tomus VIII — Fasc. 1—3.
Tomus IX — Fasc. 1—2.

India

- Academy of Tamil Culture .. Vol. VII, Nos. 2, 3 and 4.
Vol. VIII, No. 1.
- Adyar Library and Research Centre .. Vol. 22, Parts 3 and 4; Vol. 23, Parts 1 and 2.
- Bihar Research Society .. Journal — Vol. XLIII, Parts 1 and 2.
(1) Ancient India, No. 14.
(2) Indian Archaeology, 1957—1958.
- Director-General of Archaeology .. Indian Minerals — Vol. 12, Nos. 1—4.
- Geological Survey of India ..
- Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras .. Bulletin — Vol. XI, No. 2, Vol. XII, No. 1.
- Indian Historical Quarterly .. Journal — Vol. 34, Nos. 2—4.
Vol. 25, No. 1.
- Indo-Asian Culture .. Vol. VII, Nos. 1—4.
- Maha Bodhi Society, Calcutta .. Maha Bodhi — Vol. 66, Nos. 9—12.
Vol. 67, Nos. 1, 6, 7, 8.
- Oriental Institute, Baroda .. Journal — Vol. VIII, Nos. 1—4.
- Soil and Water Conservation of India .. Journal — Vol. VI, Nos. 3 and 4.
Vol. VII, No. 1.

Italy

- Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente .. East and West — Vol. 9, Nos. 3 and 4.
Vol. 10, Nos. 1 and 2 (N.S.).

Japan

- Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Societies .. Journal Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2.

Malaya

R.A.S. (Malayan Branch) .. Journal Vol. XXX, Part 2.

Sarawak

Sarawak Museum Journal — Vol. VIII, No. II.

UNESCO

- (1) Courier — September 1958, No. 9.
February 1959, No. 2, March 1959,
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- (2) Bibliography of Scientific Publications
— Vol. 4, Nos. 10 — 12, Vol. 5, Nos. 1—
9.
- (3) Arid Zone — Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 4.

Viet-Nam

La Societe Des Etudes Indo-Chi-
noises Bulletin — Tome XXXIII, Nos. 3 and 4.
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TO 30-9-59**

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- Alec Tiranti Ltd. Classical Sinhalese Sculpture.
- Asiatic Society, Calcutta Suttasamgaha.
- Bechert, Dr. Heinz The History of Buddhist Sects in India and
Ceylon.
Contributions to History of the Sinhalese
Language.
Studies on the History of Language of
Ceylon.
- Muller, E. Final Report of the Special Committee on
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- Navaratnam, C.S. Tamils and Ceylon.
- North-East Frontier Agency A Philosophy for NEFA.
- Tampoe, A.R. The Planters' Book of Caste and Custom.
On the Truth of Decorative Art.
The Religions of India.
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Quatrains of Omar Khayyam.
Ceylon — Hans Hastrig Seedorff Pederson.
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ports 1886 — 1899.
The Pilgrim — Vol. I, No. 1 and Vol. II,
Nos. 1 and 2.
Young Ceylon, May 1937 — Sept. 1938.
Pastor Chiniquy.
Anal and Oral Frustration in Relation to
Sinhalese Personality — Vol. XX, No. 1.
Early Tamil Cultural Influences in S.E.
Asia.
The Prologues of Kingswood College, Kandy.
The Play and the Players — Vol. I, No. 1.
Progress Reports, Biological and Technolo-
gical, Nos. 1 and 2.
Ceylon's Beach Seine Fishery.
Chemical Analysis of Some Ceylon Fishes
Bulletin, No. 5.
General Features and Productivity of the
Wadge Bank Trawl Fishery — Bulletin
No. 6.
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of Improved Fishing Gear — Bulletin No. 7.
A Guide to the Fisheries of Ceylon — Bulle-
tin 8.
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R.A.S. (C.B.) Journal No. 42.
Uduvil, 1824 — 1924. History of One of the
Oldest Girls' Schools in Asia.

Ceylon Today — Vol. VII, Nos. 10, 11 and 12 Mahabharata.
 The Landhesi Kalaya or the Dutch Times.
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 Albert Schweitzer — The Man and his Mind.
 The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls.
 A Digit of the Moon.
 History of Ceylon.
 The Story of Kingswood, Kandy.
 Religious Education; Report of the Christian Conference.
 An Asian Prime Minister's Story.
 The Integration of Sinhalese Society — Vol. XXII.
 Monsoon.
 A Journey on Foot Through Ceylon.
 The Government of the Island of Ceylon.
 A History of the Ceylon Police — Vol. I.
 Lanka's Log.
 Leaves from my Life.
 Remembered Yesterdays.
 Indian Wisdom.
 East and West — Toward Mutual Understanding.
 Hymns and Hymn Writers.
 Astrapani — A Romance of Sigiriya.
 Fruit Cultivation in Ceylon and S. India.
 Further Impressions.
 A Tragedy of a Mystery.
 Journal of the Proceedings of the Trincomalee Detachment.
 Letchimey — A Tale of Old Ceylon.
 Ceylon — Report of Lieut.-Col. Colebrooke.
 Sketch of the History of Ceylon (Type-written).
 Report on the Dutch Records in the Government Archives — Sessional Paper IX, 1929.
 Administration Report of the Warden, Dept. of Wild Life for 1953.
 The Law Reporters of Ceylon.
 De Wolvendaalsche Kirk.
 Indische Plastik.
 Ceylon Fortnightly Review — Vol. IX, 14 Parts, 1956.
 Ceylon Fortnightly Review — January to July 1956.
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 Buddhagosa.

Life and Letters of Edward Byles Cowell.
 Outlines of Buddhism.
 Early History of Ceylon.
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 A Geography of Ceylon.
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 E.W. Perera.
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Albert Grey and Bell	Voyage of Pyrard De Laval — Vols. 1 and 2, Parts 1 and 2.
Andrews, F.H.	The Influences of Indian Art.
Anthonisz, R.G.	The Dutch in Ceylon — Vol. I.
Arasaratnam, Dr. S.	Dutch Power in Ceylon — 1658 — 1687.
Artibus Asiae	Vol. XX, No. 4, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1 and 2.
Baldaeus in Dutch	Original Edition.
Banerjee	Sarvastivada Literature.
Bell, H.C.P.	Archaeological Survey of Ceylon — Report on the Kegalle District.
Bigandet, P.	The Legend of Gaudama — Vols. 1 and 2.
Birmingham, P.M.	History of the P.W.D. Ceylon — Vols. 1, 2 and 3.
Brohier, R.L.	The Golden Age of Military Adventure in Ceylon.
Buhler, George	Grundiso Der Indo-Aricshen Philologie and 17 Plates.
Cave, H.W.	Picturesque Ceylon — Vols. 1, 2 and 3.
Ceylon Daily News	Vesak Number, 1959.
Ceylon Literary Register	Vols. 1 and 2 (3rd Series).
Cooray, G.L.	The New Lanka — Quarterly Review — Vol. 5, Nos. 1, 2 and 4, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 — 4.
Coomaraswamy, A.	The Mirror of Gesture.
Cordier and Yule	The Dance of Siva — 14 Indian Essays.
Cordiner	Cathay and The Way Thither — Vols. 1 — 4.
Crowe, Philip K.	Description of Ceylon.
Cumming, Sir John	Diversions of a Diplomat in Ceylon.
Danvers, F.C.	Revealing India's Past.
Dahlke, Paul	The Portuguese in India — Vols. 1 and 2.
Davids, Rhys	Buddhism.
Davy, John	Book of Gradual Sayings — Vols. 1 — 5.
Day, Francis	An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of its inhabitants.
De Silva, Colvin R.	Text — Vol. I and Plates — Vol. II.
De Silva, W.A.	Ceylon Under the British Occupation — Vols. 1 and 2.
De Souza, A.	Folk Songs of the Sinhalese.
Eggermont, Dr. P.H.L.	Hundred Days in Ceylon under Martial Law, 1915.
Eliot, Sir Charles	The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya.
Epigraphia Zeylanica	Hinduism and Buddhism — Vols. 1, 2 and 3.
Gogerly, D.J.	Vol. IV.
Goonetilleke, H.A.J.	Ceylon Buddhism — Vols. 1 and 2.
Goonetilleke, William	Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies — Vol. 2, No. 1.
Goonewardena, Dr. K.W.	The Orientalist.
Gunasena, M.D.	The Foundation of Dutch Powers in Ceylon, 1638 — 1658.
Haffner, J.	Vesak Number.
Harmer, H.	Travels on Foot Through the Island of Ceylon.
Heber, Reginald	Old Sinhalese Nursery Rhymes and Folk Songs.
Horner, I.B.	Narrative of a Journey Thro. The Upper Provinces of India — Vols. 1, 2 and 3.
	Middle Length Sayings (Majjima Nikaya), Vol. I.

Ievers, R.W.	Manual of the North Central Province.
Islamic Culture	Vol. 32, No. 4, Vol. 33, Nos. 1, 2 and 3.
Jayatilleke, D.B.	The Credentials of Christianity.
Knighon, W.	Forest Life in Ceylon — 2nd Edition — Vols. 1 and 2.
Knox, Captain Robert	An Account of the Captivity of Capt. Robert Knox.
Kramrish, Stella	A Survey of Painting in the Deccan.
Kumarage, J.P.	Sanskriti — Vol. 7, Nos. 1, 2 and 3.
Law, B.C.	The Dipavamsa Translation, Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. VII.
Law, N.	Abhidharmakosa — Parts 1 — 4.
Lushington, Cicely	Bird Life in Ceylon.
Marshall, H.	Ceylon — A General Description of the Island and Its Inhabitants.
Marshall, Niceville	The Butterflies of India, Burma and Ceylon, Vols. 1, 2 and 3.
Modder, Frank	Manual of the Puttalam District.
Nava Yugaya	Vol. 3, Nos. 5 — 24, Vol. 4, Nos. 1 — 5.
Neil, William	The Cleghorn Papers.
Pallio, Marco	Peaks and Lamas.
Percival, Robert	An Account of the Island of Ceylon.
Perera, L.H. Horace	Ceylon Under Western Rule.
Perniola, Rev. Fr. V.	A Grammar of the Pali Language.
Raffel, D.	In Ruhunu Jungles.
Ramanathan, P.	Riots and Martial Law in Ceylon, 1915.
Ranasinghe, R.	Sanskriti — Vol. 6, No. 4.
Rasavahini	Vol. 3, Nos. 5 — 12; Vol. 4, Nos. 1 — 3.
Raven-Hart	Translation of the Pybus Embassy to Kandy.
Ryan, Bryce	Sinhalese Village.
Sastri, Nilakantha	A Comprehensive History of India — Vol. 2.
Seligmann	The Vedddhas.
Soertsz, Francis	The New Lanka Quarterly Review — Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6.
Stevens, R.H.	Tukani.
Tennent, Emerson	Ceylon — An Account of the Island — Vols. 1 and 2.
Thurstan, Edgar	Castes and Tribes of Southern India — Vols. 1 — 7.
Times of Ceylon	Annual, 1958.
Trimen, H.	Flora of Ceylon — Plates.
Vittachi, T.	Emergency '58.
Wait, W.E.	Birds of Ceylon — 2nd Edition.
Wall, Frank	Snakes of Ceylon.
Wijesekera, Dr. N.D.	Early Sinhalese Painting.
Worthington, T.B.	Ceylon Trees.

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 Dheerananda Thero, Rev. G. Sri., Sri Bodhirukkaramaya, Wekada, Panadura.
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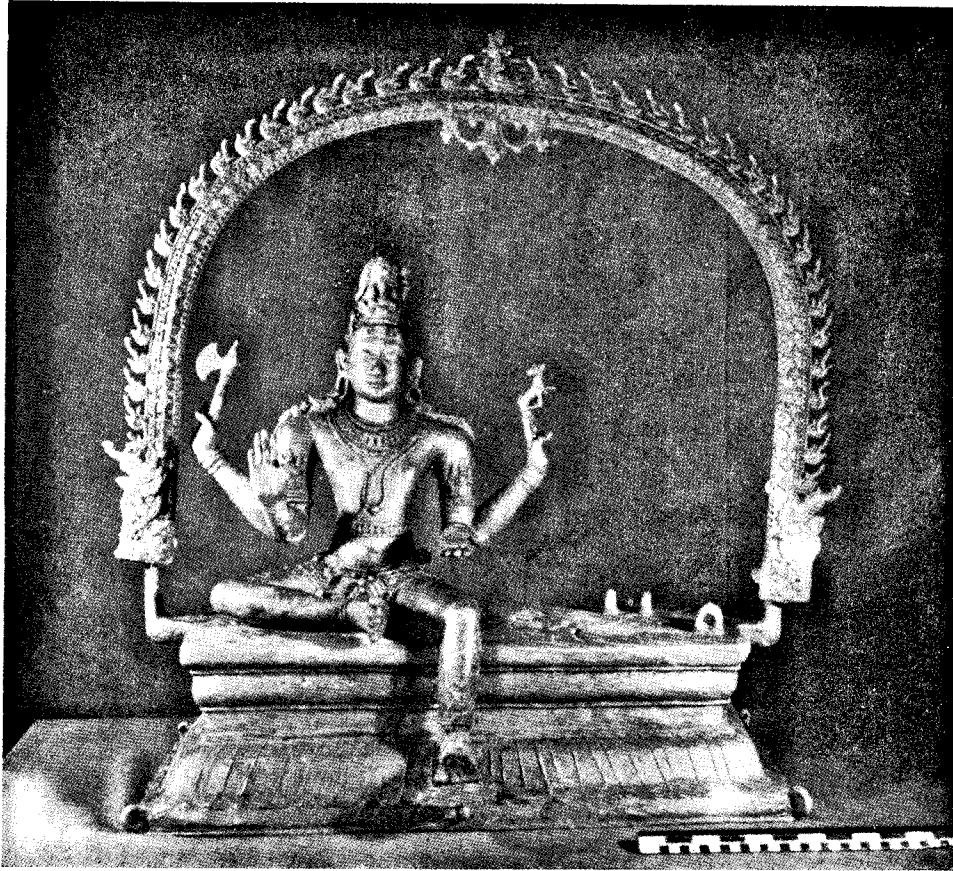
Sarasvati, profile

Plate 2



Natarāja

Plate 3 a



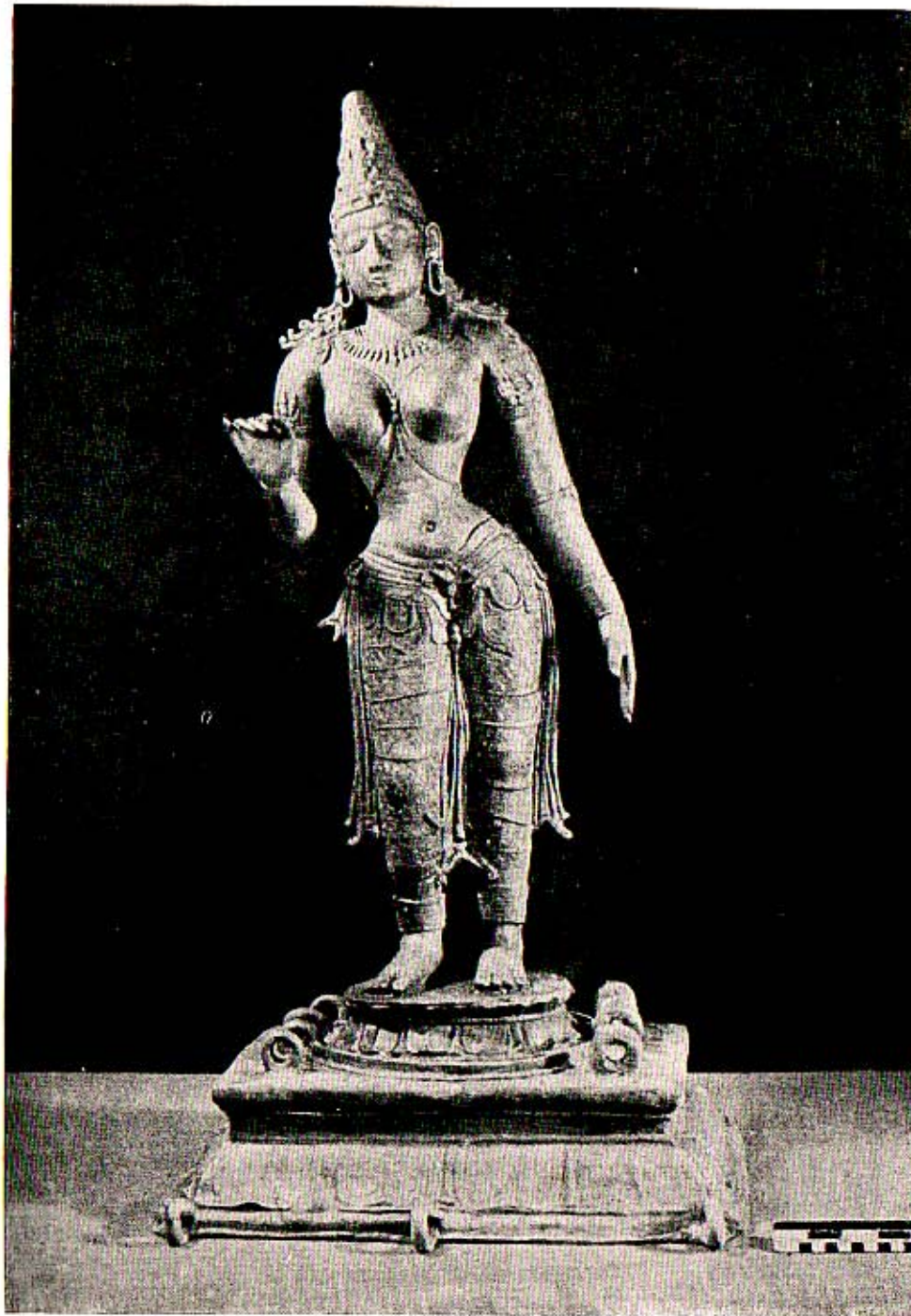
Somaskhanda-mūrti (front view)

Plate 3 b



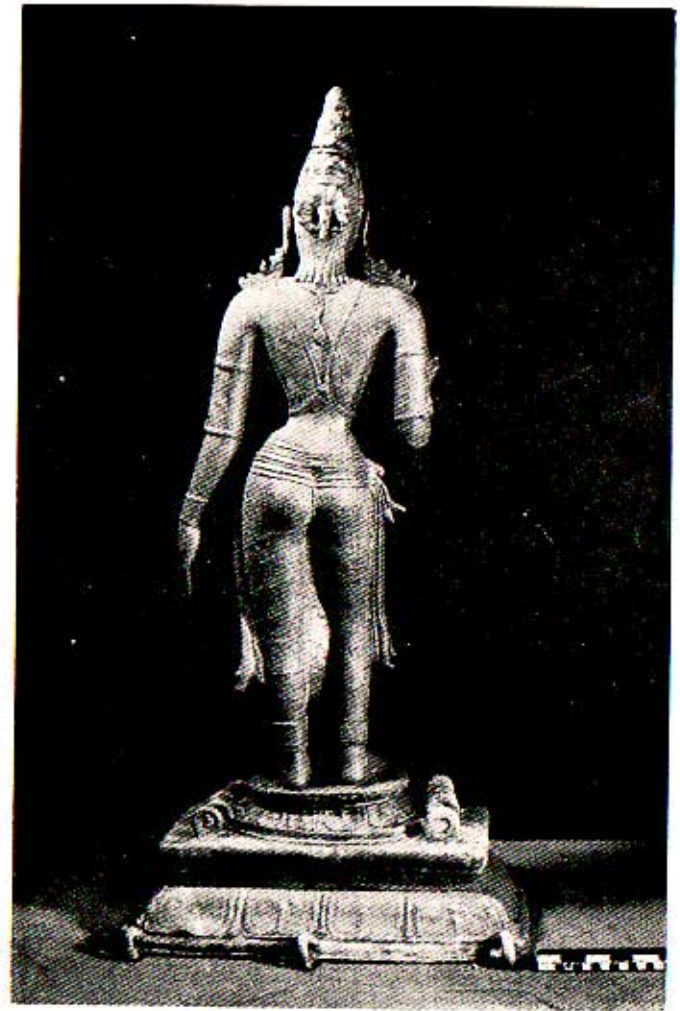
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Plate 4 a



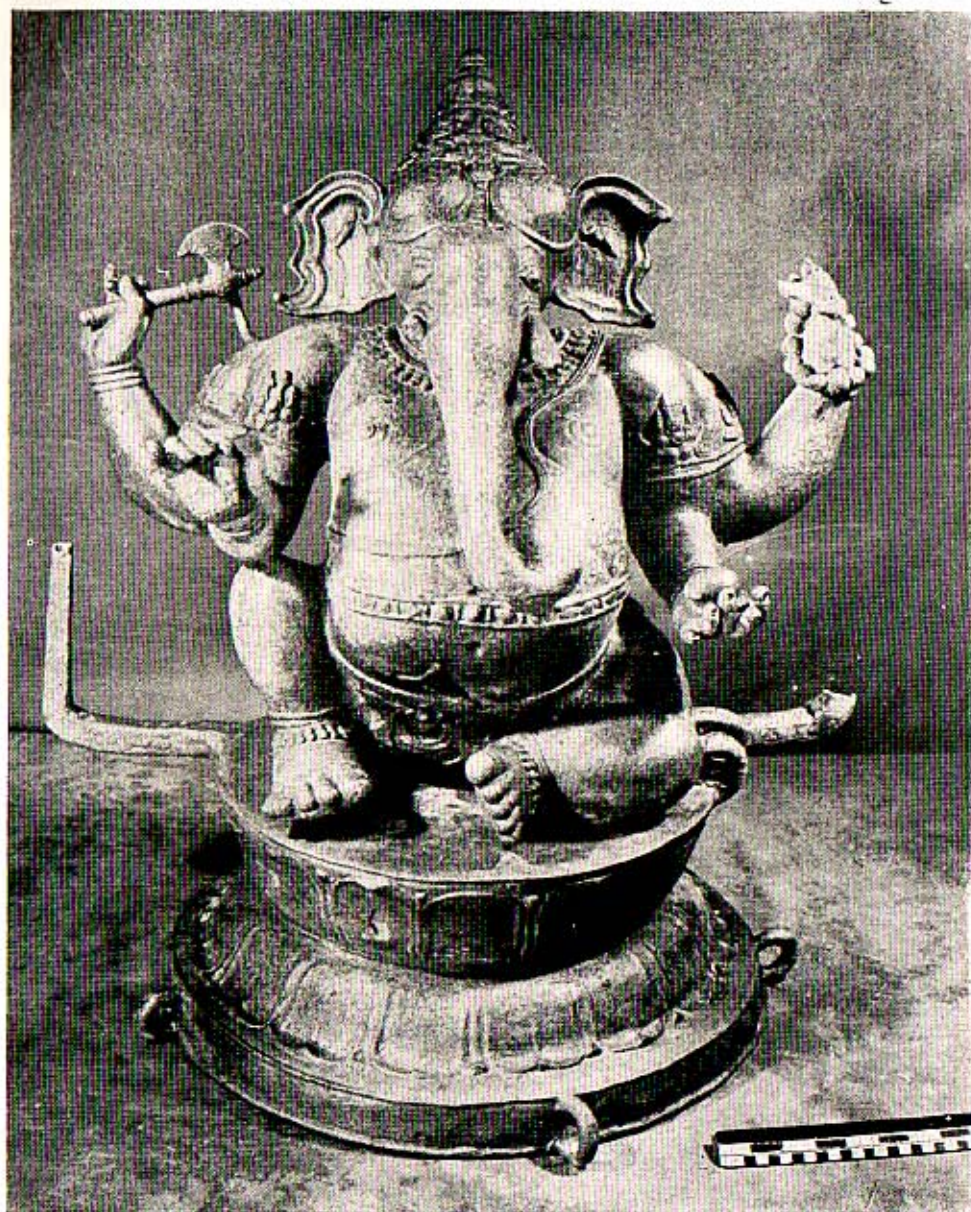
Pārvati (front view)

Plate 4 b



Pārvati (back view)

Plate 5 a



Gaṇeśa (front view)

Plate 5 b



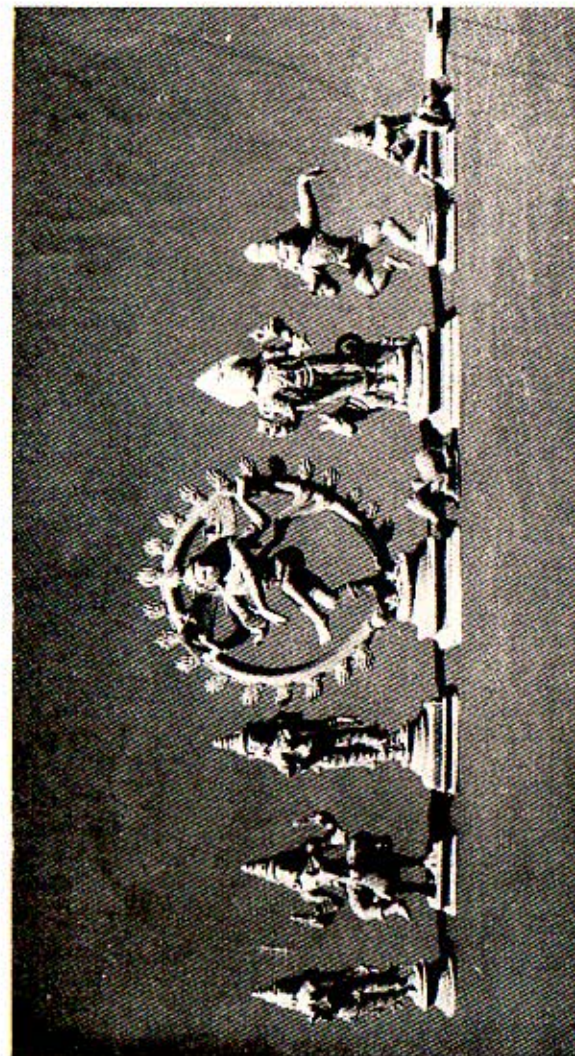
Gaṇeśa (back view)

Plate 6

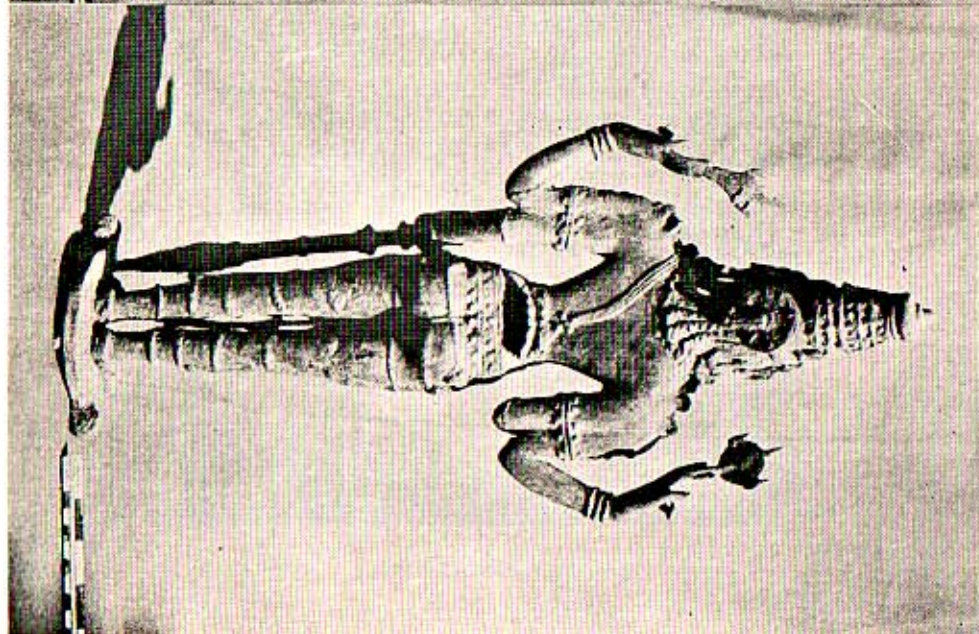
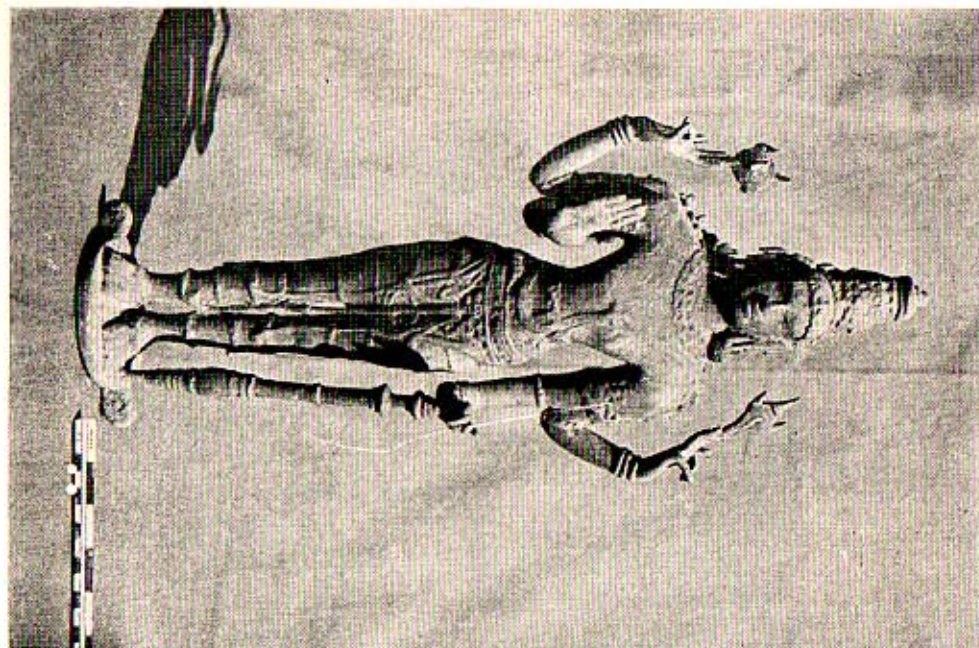


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